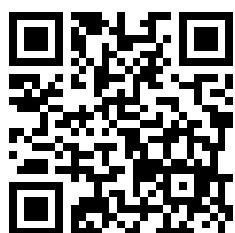


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STUDIES IN SUNG TIME COLLOQUIAL  
CHINESE AS REVEALED IN CHU  
HI'S TS'ÜANSHU

BY

*GERTY KALLGREN*



## PREFACE

The present study is an investigation of the colloquial Mandarin revealed in the sayings of the famous Sung-time philosopher Chu Hi (1130—1200) as found in «The Complete Works of Chu tsî. Imperial Edition» (*Yü-60 tsuan:120 Chu tsî ts'üan;11 shu73*). This investigation has been made with a view to several features typical of the modern *pai hua*. Examples illustrating such features have been selected from the above-mentioned work, translated into English and commented upon. Some colloquial features now obsolete but current in the earlier *pai hua* literature are also discussed. Regarding the occurrence of the relevant grammatical features mention has at times been made of another famous Sung-time work, the *Kin sî lu*, and of Chu Hi's commentaries on the classics; occasional reference has also been made to the language of the Ch'eng brothers.

To my teacher Professor Bernhard Karlgren, Stockholm, I wish to express my indebtedness. He has guided me in my studies in Chinese and given me patient consideration and fruitful suggestions during my preparation of this thesis. Furthermore I wish to express my sincere thanks to Mr. Tsu-yü Hwang, Mullsjö, who taught me the elements of the Chinese language. Last but not least, my thanks are due to my tutors and friends in China for their unswerving interest in teaching me their fascinating language, when, during the years 1946—1951, I had the opportunity of working in China.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

Yü-60 tsuan: <sup>120</sup> Chu tsī ts'üan; <sup>11</sup> shu <sup>73</sup> . . . . .	Ts'üanshu
Pei-9 wen; <sup>67</sup> yün- <sup>180</sup> fu: <sup>53</sup> . . . . .	Peiwen
P'ien; <sup>187</sup> tsī- <sup>39</sup> lei- <sup>181</sup> pien- <sup>160</sup> . . . . .	P'ientsi
Lien <sup>128</sup> mien <sup>120</sup> tsī- <sup>39</sup> tien: <sup>12</sup> . . . . .	Lienmien
Hattori: Kanwa dai jiten . . . . .	Kanwa

# STUDIES IN SUNG TIME COLLOQUIAL CHINESE AS REVEALED IN CHU HI'S TS'ÜANSHU

BY

*GERTY KALLGREN*

## CHAPTER I

### A SUMMARY OF CHU HI'S LIFE AND WORK

Chu Hi was born in *Yu*,<sup>43-k'i</sup>85 in the prefecture of *Yen*,<sup>54-p'ing</sup>,<sup>51</sup> in the Fukien province in the year 1130. His father, Chu Sung, (best known under the name *Wei*,<sup>178-chai</sup>210) was a Magistrate of *Yu-k'i* and belonged to a family with a high literary reputation. The ancestral home of the family was in *Wu*-<sup>38-yüan</sup>,<sup>85</sup> in the prefecture of *Sin*<sup>69-an</sup>40 (the present Huichou) in the southern part of the Anhui province.

Although, at the time of Chu Hi's birth, 23 years had elapsed since the death of Ch'eng Yi — the latest representative of the earlier Neo-Confucianists — there was an unbroken line of succession between the earlier Sung philosophers and Chu Hi. The connecting link was the philosopher *Yang*,<sup>75</sup> *Kuei*213-*shang*-1 (1053—1135), a Fukienese who had studied under the Ch'eng brothers and joined their school. One of his pupils was *Lo*122 *Ts'ung*,<sup>60-yen</sup>-59 (1072—1135), also a native of Fukien. Lo Ts'ung-yen was the teacher of Chu Sung, and of *Li*,<sup>75</sup> *Yen*,<sup>54-p'ing</sup>,<sup>51</sup> (1093—1163) who later on became the teacher of Chu Hi.

Chu Hi's biographers tell us about his precociousness and ingeniousness. When five years old he was sent to school. In 1141 his father resigned the office he then held. As a consequence of this he had the opportunity of devoting his time to his son's education. Chu Sung was no doubt a brilliant scholar, well versed in the classics and familiar with the teachings of the Neo-Confucianists. He was thus well equipped for laying a solid foundation for his son's scholarship. Unfortunately he died as early as 1143. He had arranged for his son's future education by entrusting it to three friends of his. Two of these had Buddhistic and Taoistic inclinations. No wonder that their pupil absorbed the teachings of these schools which flourished at that time. At the age of eighteen Chu Hi took his *tsin*-<sup>162</sup> *shü*-<sup>33</sup> degree. He continued his studies for another three years and then, i. e. in 1151, he began his official career, which was to become a very chequered one. Whenever he held an

office, he discharged his duties with the greatest conscientiousness. But his aim was obviously not to make a brilliant career as an official, for again and again he declined offices in order to be able to pursue his studies. Chu Hi held offices in Fukien as well as in Kiangsi, Chekiang, and Hunan. In 1158 he obtained a sinecure appointment as the guardian of a temple near *T'an*,<sup>85</sup> *chou*<sup>47</sup>, the modern Ch'angsha in Hunan, the native province of Chou Tun-yi, the master of the Ch'eng brothers, and the one who has been considered to be the founder of the Neo-Confucian School. This appointment was renewed several times, and so the philosopher could devote his time — with some interruptions — to his studies and to his literary pursuits until the year 1178.

In 1154 Chu Hi visited Li Yen-p'ing, the friend of his father. From that time on Li Yen-p'ing became Chu Hi's teacher. Li Yen-p'ing was no doubt the one who — next to Chu Sung — exerted most influence on Chu Hi. It was he who persuaded him of the uselessness of the teachings of the Buddhists and the Taoists. Although Chu Hi was influenced all his life by the doctrines of these religious systems, incorporating some of them with Confucianism, it is from this time on that he concentrates on the study of the orthodox classics and considers himself to be a Confucianist. His beloved teacher died in 1163. Before Li Yen-p'ing's death Chu Hi had established himself as an author. The first work he wrote was »The Sayings of Shang-ts'ai.« *Sie-149 Shang-1-ts'ai-140* (1060—1125) was a pupil of the brothers Ch'eng and the founder of the Shang-ts'ai School, which differed from the Neo-Confucianists in the interpretation of the word *jen*<sup>9</sup>:<sup>7</sup> »benevolence«. Chu Hi was a prolific writer. His most important work — according to the author himself — was the commentary to the four books: *Ta hüek*, *Chung yung*, *Lun yü* and *Meng tsü*.<sup>1)</sup> Chu Hi also wrote commentaries to the *Shi* king and to the *Yi* king, as well as to Chang Tsai's work *Si146 ming30* »The Western Inscriptions«. *Chang57 Tsai-159* (1020—1077) was the uncle of the brothers Ch'eng and an adherent of their school. Some other important works that Chu Hi completed at this period of literary pursuits were commentaries to Chou tsü's and the two Ch'eng's works. In 1175 Chu Hi met the scholar *Lü*:<sup>30</sup> *Tsu*:<sup>113</sup> *k'ien*<sup>149</sup>, with whom he formed an intimate friendship. It was this scholar who persuaded Chu Hi to publish the works and the commentaries on the Neo-Confucianists just mentioned. The two friends wrote together the *Kin sī lu*, one of the most important Neo-Confucian works.<sup>2)</sup>

During this period of retirement Chu Hi was repeatedly summoned to appear at the Court. He was unwilling to leave his studies, and so he declined. But at last he had to obey, and was granted an audience. He presented three memorials. Probably the Emperor did not approve of these memorials. Anyway, Chu Hi was allowed to return to his studies and to his teaching. Although he lived so

<sup>1)</sup> The famous T'ang essayist Han Yü (768—824) was a great admirer of Mencius, and he ranked him with Confucius. From Sung time onward the book of Mencius has been regarded as a classic.

<sup>2)</sup> cf. O. Graf, *Kin sī lu*, die Sungkonfuzianische Summa mit dem Kommentar des Yeh Ts'ai, Sophia University Press, Tokyo 1953—54.

much in retirement, he was no hermit. He associated with friends — even with those having opinions deviating from his own — and students gathered around him. As he became more and more famous, students from all parts of the country came to listen to him, and his renown even reached abroad. Already in his lifetime his literary works were being read in Japan.

In 1178 Chu Hi was appointed to *Nan24-k'ang*<sup>53</sup> in Kiangsi. He persisted in declining, but some of his closest friends urged him to accept. They argued that if he did not acquiesce he would give the Ministers reason to say that scholars were unpatriotic. At last Chu Hi gave in, and early in 1179 he set off to take up his duties as prefect at Nan-k'ang. Applying his high ethical principles to his administration of office, he carried out many reforms, furthered education, tried to raise the morale of the youth, and relieved people in need. During this period he submitted a secret memorial to the Throne, criticising the conditions at Court in particular, and in the country in general. This memorial, which was received with indignation, may have been one of the causes of his troubles in later years. Chu Hi sent in his resignation. At first he did not receive any reply. Later on he was appointed Comptroller of the Tea and Salt Revenues in Chekiang — the Emperor evidently did not want to get rid of an efficient official. After an audience in 1182 he was appointed Prefect of *Shao-120-hing*<sup>134</sup> in Chekiang. Already in 1183 he resigned this office, and after having been urged in vain to retain it, he obtained the desired leisure so as to be able to devote his time to study and writing. Now he completed — among other works — *the Siao:42 hüek*<sup>39</sup> \*The Teaching of Young People\*, a work which was to become the common property of the Chinese people for so many centuries. In 1189 the philosopher was again summoned to Court. Now his memorials no longer displeased the Emperor. Chu Hi was offered a post in the Capital, but was accused by some Court enemies of being a plagiarizer and even a revolutionary. Then the Emperor was advised to offer him the Judgeship of Kiangsi. Chu Hi declined this and other offers and returned to his books. His retirement was, however, to be of short duration. The same year a new Emperor ascended the throne, and when offered an office Chu Hi did not feel inclined to refuse, and so he held offices during the following years until 1194 — except for a short period of retirement mourning for his eldest son. Again he was summoned to Court and was appointed Tutor to the young Emperor. (The Emperor who had ascended the throne a few years earlier had abdicated.) Once more Chu Hi was exposed to enemies at Court. He was, as usual, unswerving in his loyalty to his high ideals, and so he could not be silent when he perceived the corruption and the intrigues at Court. Consequently he became involved in trouble, and his enemies succeeded in bringing it to such a pitch that Chu Hi was disgraced and deprived of his office in 1197. He received this blow with lofty calm, left the Court, and retired to his books and lectures. Two years later he was rehabilitated, but he did not accept any office. During the last few years of his life Chu Hi became feeble, and his sight so deteriorated that he had difficulty in reading. Yet he continued to

lecture and revise his writings. He was thus active up to the last day of his life. He died — probably from dysentery — in the spring of the year 1200, seventy years old.

Thus far, a brief summary of Chu Hi's life and work. For further details the reader is referred to J. P. Bruce, *Chu Hsi and his Masters* (1923), and to A. Forke, *Geschichte der neueren chinesischen Philosophie*, (1938) p. 164 ff. For his system of thought another work may be added: Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy* (1953). A short but excellent exposition of Chu Hi's philosophy and his influence on posterity is to be found in J. J. L. Duyvendak, *China tegen de Westerkiem* (1927), p. 67 ff.

The philosophy of Chu Hi and of the other great Neo-Confucianists is displayed in the commentaries mentioned above. The interpretations of Chu Hi were recognized as correct and had to be accepted by everyone who desired to make an official career. In this way the doctrines of the Neo-Confucian School have played a very important part in moulding the thoughts of the Chinese people. It has been mentioned before that Chu Hi gathered a large number of students around him. In his lectures to his students he expounded his philosophical system, which manifests great dialectical power. These lectures were recorded by his most intimate pupils. They appeared as *Chu tsī Yü:149 lei-181* »Chu tsī's Conversations» in different collections, one of which was published 30 years after the philosopher's death. Some of his numerous letters to disciples and opponents, and his miscellaneous writings were published under the title of *Chu tsī Wen:67 tsip 172* »Chu tsī's Collected Writings.» This latter work is to be found in the *Si-31 pu-163 ts'ung29 k'an18* (preface dated 1532). The Emperor K'ang-hi ordered the scholar *Li:75 Kuang10-ti-32* to compile a condensed edition of the Yülei and the Wentsi. This work appeared in 1713, supplied with a preface written by the Emperor, under the title of *Yü-60 tsuan.120 Chu tsī ts'uān;11 shu73* »The Complete Works of Chu tsī, Imperial Edition». This work, which has furnished the material for the present investigation, consists of 66 books (*kuan-26*). The contents are arranged according to subject matter. The first 6 books bear the title of *huek39* »Studies», and then the classics are discussed up to book 41. Books 42—48 are entitled *sing-61 li:96* »Metaphysics» (the *sing li* school is another name for the Neo-Confucian School). These books have been translated into English by J. P. Bruce.<sup>1)</sup> Books 49—50 deal with the theory of the Universe. Book 49 has been translated into English by MacClatchie,<sup>2)</sup> and into French by S. Le Gall.<sup>3)</sup> The subsequent books deal with miscellaneous subjects. The Yülei forms about 70 % of the work.

Although comparatively little has been translated of Chu Hi's works, a great deal has been written on his philosophy. Very little, however, has been said about

<sup>1)</sup> J. P. Bruce, *The Philosophy of Human Nature*, 1922.

<sup>2)</sup> T. MacClatchie, *Confucian Cosmogony from Choo Footsze*, 1874.

<sup>3)</sup> S. Le Gall, *Le philosophe Tchou Hi, sa doctrine et son influence*, 1894.

his language, and nothing — so far as I know — about the grammar and vocabulary of his language. Just a few remarks may be quoted. Le Gall, who does not pay a very high tribute to Chu Hi's philosophy, says about his writings in the work referred to above: »un style net et limpide, une tournure de phrase coulante et variée». J. P. Bruce writes in his «Chu Hsi and His Masters» (p. 95): »To thoroughness of method was added lucidity of style. In Chu Hsi's dialectic there was none of the picturesqueness or vehemence, or moral force, which we find in Mencius. His power lay in the cold, clear, and exact expression of keen, incisive reasoning. If in his works the sections from the Collected Writings and those from the Conversations be compared in the original, a marked difference will be observed between his written and oral style». Chung<sup>2</sup> kuok<sup>31</sup> wen<sup>67</sup> hüek<sup>39</sup> kia<sup>40</sup> ta-37 ts'i<sup>160</sup> tien<sup>12</sup> »A Dictionary of Chinese Men of Letters» says: *tui-41 yü wen<sup>67</sup> hüek<sup>39</sup> t'a<sup>9</sup> hao<sup>38</sup> yi pok<sup>106</sup> hua-149 tsok<sup>9</sup> yü<sup>149</sup> luk<sup>167</sup>* »As to literature, he composed discourses in the colloquial style». H. Maspero<sup>1)</sup> says: »Chu Hi et tous les philosophes de son école ont rédigé leurs explications sur les classiques en un style qui sans être absolument la langue vulgaire, s'en rapproche beaucoup». G. Margouliés<sup>2)</sup> writes: »En dehors de leur importance philosophique, les philosophes (i. e. the Neo-Confucianists) ont eu une influence stylistique considerable».

The last quotation suggests that the influence of the Sung philosophers is not confined to the sphere of philosophy only but also concerns that of language. The most important source of knowledge of Chu Hi's philosophy is, according to A. Forke, the Ts'üanshu referred to above. This work also furnishes interesting material as far as Chu Hi's language is concerned. An investigation of its language has, however, its value only if we can be assured that the language of the Ts'üanshu is really that of the philosopher himself and his closest disciples, and that it has not been tampered with (at least to any noticeable extent) by the editor Li Kuang-ti in 1713. There is, in fact, very little risk in that direction. Chu Hi was already in his life-time so famous and influential, and his disciples so numerous and important, his writings so esteemed and his lectures, codified in the Yülei, so admired and widely studied, in a series of editions, that no scholar 500 years later could tamper with its wording and have the slightest chance of his modifications being unchallenged and accepted. Moreover, the colloquialisms which are frequently to be found in Chu Hi's commentaries (particularly *Si shu tsai chu*) and the *Kin si lu* are quite in accordance with what we find in the Ts'üanshu and corroborate the authenticity of the latter. Thus, I think we can believe Li Kuang-ti when in his introduction to the Ts'üanshu he says that he has arranged the material systematically according to the subject matter, and that he has removed repetitions. Li Kuang-ti and his co-workers have no doubt kept faithfully to the material they have collected. Of course, as always, we have to make allowance for faulty text

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, Sur quelques textes anciens de chinois parlé, p. 1. BEFEO XIV, Paris 1914.

<sup>2)</sup> G. Margouliés, Histoire de la littérature chinoise, p. 256, Paris 1949.

transmissions, but they will hardly invalidate an investigation of the language of the work as a whole.

From the Buddhistic T'ang texts we can gain some idea of the colloquial language of that time, i. e. the 9th century. H. Maspero has dealt with some grammatical features of these texts,<sup>1)</sup> and his paper will be repeatedly referred to in the present paper. These T'ang texts are so-called *pien-149 wen*,<sup>67</sup> »changed texts,« i. e. literary texts rendered in the colloquial language. Under the influence of these religious tales the secular stories in the vernacular came into existence in late T'ang time and early Sung time. The stories were originally written as manuals for the narrators, who are known to have been so popular during the Northern Sung epoch. These popular accounts had a considerable influence on the Chinese popular novels during later dynasties.<sup>2)</sup> During the Southern Sung, Fukien was the province where most of the popular stories and novels were published. It is most probable that Chu Hi knew of these stories, and as in his earlier years he was an eager student of Buddhism it is possible that he had read the religious tales written in T'ang time. This vernacular literature may very well have influenced the Ch'eng brothers, Chu Hi, and other Sung philosophers to write a style permeated by colloquial expressions.

The colloquial language which the Ts'uanshu reflects is no doubt the Mandarin language spoken at the time of Chu Hi. It was mentioned at the outset of this chapter that Chu Hi's family originated from southern Anhui. It is not improbable that Chu Sung was among those who migrated to Fukien after the capitulation of the Northern Sung Capital, the present K'aifeng (1126). In our sketch of Chu Hi's life we have mentioned how Chu Hi moved about in several provinces, and that he lectured to students from different parts of the country. It is thus evident that he must have spoken the »Mandarin language«, i. e. the northern colloquial of the educated class, even if he was familiar with one or more local dialects.

Some books in the Ts'uanshu are strongly permeated by colloquial features, but there are some which are almost entirely lacking in such features, e. g. books 36, 39, 56, 63, 64, and 66. Thus, in the books dealing with the *siao*:<sup>42</sup> *huek*,<sup>39</sup> and the *si shu* (1—25) colloquial expressions are often met with, except in book 5, whereas those dealing with the *wu king* (26—41) have comparatively few *pai hua* constructions. As the Yülei are verbatim records of the philosopher's lectures, it is only natural that they should reflect the philosopher's spoken language. That there are so many literary expressions in the Yülei may be due to the fact that in Sung time the spoken language was closer to the literary language than it is now, i. e. certain auxiliaries and particles typical of the classical literary language which are now obsolete and felt to be purely *wen hua*, in Chu Hi's time may still have been

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*

<sup>2)</sup> cf. J. Průšek, Researches into the Beginnings of the Chinese Popular Novel, Archiv Orientální No. 11, 1939, pp. 91—132, and No. 23, 1955, pp. 620—662.

current to some extent in the spoken language. Another reason why there is so much *wen hua* in the Yülei may be that Chu Hi could freely use literary expressions and be understood, as his audience was familiar with the classical language. On the other hand, we find a great many colloquial features in the Wentsi, in regard to both the vocabulary and the grammar. It has been said before that colloquialisms are to be found in the commentaries as well — strange to say, more often in passages which are quotations from the Ch'eng brothers than in passages written by Chu Hi himself.<sup>1)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> In the following description of Chu Hi's *pai hua* I shall follow the nomenclature used by Y. R. Chao in his Mandarin Primer (1948) and by B. Karlgren in New Excursions in Chinese Grammar (BMFEA 24, 1952). Regarding statements of frequency I shall not apply any strict statistical method but follow my own judgement. Nothing will be said about the phonetics of Chu Hi's colloquial language. The majority of the sentences are excerpted from the Yülei, as the colloquial features are much more pronounced in that section than in the Wentsi. The translations are as literal as possible, with the result that the English is cumbersome. For sentences excerpted from books 42—48 J. P. Bruce's translations are as a rule used. The transcription employed is that designed by B. Karlgren (The Transcription of Literary Chinese, BMFEA 23, 1951). Indexes of the Chinese characters are to be found at the end of the paper, one for characters occurring in the excerpted sentences and in the commentary, and one for names and book titles.

## CHAPTER II

### BINOMES

The constant use of binomes is considered to be one of the most significant differences between *wen hua* and *pai hua*. *Wen hua*, i. e. a refined variant of the spoken language of Chou time, was predominantly a language consisting of simple words. But already in the Chou time literature we find two synonymous words coordinated so as to form one concept, e. g. *fang70 fap85* »method» (Mok tsī), *kuei147 kū:110* »rule, law» (Li ki), *t'ao:149 lun-149* »to discuss» (Lun yü). These words belong to the everyday language of modern times. Coordinating two synonyms or antonyms is the most common way of compounding. The majority of the binomes used by Chu Hi are coordinated synonyms — as we shall see later on in this chapter. Another category of binomes is the verb-object construction, which also exists in the classical language, e. g. *tuk149 shu73* »to study», which occurs in the Li ki. One component of a binome may also be in an attributive relation to the other component, e. g. *sien10 sheng100* »teacher», which is also to be found in the Li ki.

In the literature from Han time and the following centuries we find a large number of binomes which are still current. Just a few such binomes — often employed by Chu Hi — may be mentioned: *jung40 yi-72* »easy» (Han shu), *küet85 ting-40* »to decide» (Shī ki), *k'o sik61* »too bad» (Hou Han shu), *nu:19 lik19* »to exert one's strength» (ibid.), *sü61 lu-61* »to brood over» (Shī ki), and *yi;103 huok61* »to doubt» (Han time).

From Han time on, the Chinese *literati* used the classical language as their literary medium, but there was an interchange between *wen hua* and *pai hua*. It is but natural that binomes which had been current in the *pai hua* for a considerable time, should gradually have made their way into the *wen hua*. Moreover, some writers were less strict and purposely allowed some features of their colloquial language to be absorbed into their written language, e. g. Wang Ch'ung in his Lun heng.<sup>1)</sup> In this way we find a considerable number of binomes, which are still in use, in the texts from the San-kuo and the Liu-ch'ao periods. Some of the T'ang poets, e. g. Po Kü-yi, composed their poems in a language approaching the colloquial language.

In Chu Hi's literary products we find a large number of binomes. Thus, he makes quite a frequent use of binomes in e. g. his commentaries to the classics, in the

<sup>1)</sup> cf. B. Karlgren, Excursions in Chinese Grammar, BMFEA 23, 1951, p. 132.

Kin sī lu and the Wentsi. The binomes are indeed a common feature in Chu Hi's literary style. Most of those occurring in these texts are to be found in the classics or other Chou-time texts, like Chuang tsī, Mok tsī, Chou li etc., and in the Han time literature. In passages revealing Chu Hi's colloquial language, i. e. in the Yülei and some parts of the Wentsi and the Kin sī lu, the binomes are even more frequent. Many of them occur again and again. Quite a few of them occur sporadically.

In an examination of Chu Hi's colloquial language we must try to form an opinion about the nature of the many binomes in his writings, and to determine which of them can be safely supposed to have been colloquial, and not simply literary vocables, introduced as loans from classical texts. Thus, we should operate only with binomes which, on the one hand, occur in modern Mandarin and, on the other hand, are not attested in the Chou time literature, i. e. in the texts normative for the *wen hua*. We should likewise exclude binomes attested in texts from Han and the major part of Liu-ch'ao times, even if they are colloquially current, for they may have been created by literary men and in the lapse of a great many centuries been borrowed and taken into *pai hua*. On the other hand, we need not strictly draw the line at the 11th century: colloquial binomes of today, which occur in texts from T'ang and later but are not attested in, say, the 6th century, may be strongly suspected of being *pai hua* binomes which had not yet slipped into the *wen hua* anterior to the 6th century. Thus, when used by Chu Hi they were in all probability part of his own colloquial language.

The fatal difficulty which presents itself is that of determining the earliest occurrence of a given binome in texts. For the classical Chou language there are ample tools, such as Peiwen, P'ientsī, Hai ning Wang shī yi shu, Lienmien, the Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series. For this period the excerpts in Peiwen, P'ientsī and Lienmien are also quite comprehensive. From Han and later texts we are less well equipped. Since the enormous body of literature has never been lexicographically treated with any completeness, we can still only go by the Peiwen, the P'ientsī and, as fairly poor complements, the Lienmien, the Ts'i yüan, the Ts'i hai, and the Kanwa. Now in Peiwen and P'ientsī the quotations are chronologically arranged, but this does not necessarily mean that the first example given is the earliest find-place in Chinese literature. These *thesauri* concern only classics, dynastic histories, »philosophers», and belles-lettres, and disregard the extensive literature falling outside these categories. Thus, no extracts are made from Chu Hi's Yülei or Wentsi, and the consequence is, as we shall see below, that many binomes occurring in Yülei have texts from periods posterior to Chu Hi given as earliest examples in the *thesauri*.

These reservations having been made, it is still useful to divide the binome material into certain groups according as they are recorded in the *thesauri* as being earliest known in high literature: in the 6th century, in the T'ang period or in later epochs. The time for their infiltration into the *wen hua* affords a valuable

clue as to their age as colloquial vocables. Thus, group A comprises binomes which in works of reference are said to occur in high literature from the 6th century, i. e. the end of the Liu-ch'ao period and the Sui period, e. g. Wei chī, Wei shu, Ts'i shu, Yen-59shi-83 kia40 hün-149. Group B embraces those occurring in high literature in the T'ang period. Han Yü, Po Kü-yi, and Tu Fu are often mentioned as first examples. All those which are said to appear in high literature in the Wu-tai period, e. g. Kiu T'ang shu, and in the Sung period, e. g. Ou-yang Siu, Su Shi, Chu Hi, are assigned to group C. In group D are those for which Peiwen, in some cases Kanwa, indicates as the earliest example in high literature a text compiled later than Chu Hi, e. g. Sung shī and Kin shī. And, finally, in group E are the binomes which I have not been able to find in any of the works of reference I have available. Now and then the works of reference are contradictory as to date of first occurrence. I believe Peiwen to be more reliable than, e. g., Lienmien. I have disregarded a couple of binomes for which Lienmien gives an earlier date than Peiwen, the text in question being among those for which there is no index available.

Instead of merely enumerating the binomes, I have excerpted one sentence for each binome. The majority of the sentences are from the Yülei, and as a rule they reveal other colloquial features as well. I shall give a clear indication whenever a sentence is from the Wentsi. The binomes of each group are arranged in alphabetical order. The dates are from Peiwen if not otherwise indicated. At the end of this chapter there is an alphabetical list of all the binomes discussed below.

- A. 10 Binomes the earliest recorded examples of which in high literature fall within the period 500—618:
  - 1. *ch'a48 yi-102* »strange, different»:  
30:22a shī-1 kien169 tsī-132 yu che-162 pan137 *ch'a48 yi-102* tik shī-6  
there are in the world this kind of strange things.
  - 2. *hiang-30 lai9* »heretofore, formerly»:  
2:48a ku-66 mou:75 *hiang-30 lai9* chep159 yu shī yü:149 (Wentsi)  
hence I have occasionally said this formerly.
  - 3. *ken75 ki32* »foundation»:  
53:3b che-162 yit1 kü-30 pien-9 shī shuot149 sing-61 chī *ken75 ki32*  
this one sentence is the foundation of the sayings about Nature.
  - 4. *kien:64 chek64* »to select, to choose»:  
2:4a shī ko-118 yu *kien:64 chek64* tik sin61  
it is one who has a »selected» (good) heart.
  - 5. *k'ao:125 kiu116* »to investigate»:  
7:16a yik8 neng *k'ao:125 kiu116* tek tsī si-120  
can also investigate carefully.

6. *k'i;74 hien-170* »time limit»:

6:3a k'uan40 chok *k'i;74 hien-170*  
extend the time limit.

7. *lin131 shi;72* »temporary»:

3:7a tsek shi *lin131 shi;72 tu163* put chao-86 kuan:118 (Wentsi)  
and not regard them for the time being.

8. *man:85 tsuk157* »full, entire»:

9:17a kok30 kok30 *man:85 tsuk157*  
each is full.

9. *muk109 hia-1* »at presents»:

1:29b tsek *muk109 hia-1 ts'o157 kuo-162 tsik26 hop30 tso-9 tik ts'in147*  
ts'iet18 kung48 fu37 (Wentsi)  
and at present neglect the urgent work you should do now.

10. *sün;41 t'ao:149* »to seek, to find»:

42:13a jan ju ho tik k'ü-28 *sün;41 t'ao:149 t'a9*  
but how are we to find it?

The above binomes are all, except one, formed by coordinating two synonyms. The exception is *muk109 hia-1* (9), which is a subordinate compound. They seem to have the same sense and function as they have today, the only exception being *sün;41 t'ao:149* (10) which merely means »to seek, to find«, not »to make trouble«. They are all to be found in texts from the end of the Liu-ch'ao period except *hiang-30 lai9* (2), which according to the Lienmien occurs in the Yen-59 shi-83 kia40 hün-149 written during the Sui dynasty. For *ken75 ki32* (3) Lienmien indicates the Wei chī as original source. All the above binomes are current in the present-day colloquial, some of them are quite frequent, e. g. *hiang-30 lai9*, *ken75 ki32*, and *k'ao:125 kiu116* (5) Two of these are employed very often by Chu Hi: *ken75 ki32* and *k'ao:125 kiu116*. There are just a few cases of *ch'a48 yi-102* (1) and *kien:64 chek64* (4) in the Ts'üanshu, and the remaining six occur occasionally.

B. 43 Binomes the earliest recorded examples of which in high literature fall within T'ang time:

1. *chang-170 ai-112* »obstacle»:

1:43a er jen9 yi sii15 yi-61 tsii-132 wei *chang-170 ai-112* (Wentsi)  
but people make an obstacle for themselves by selfish thoughts.

2. *chun:85 tsek* »rule, standard»:

17:23b pien-9 shi-6 shi-6 yu ko-118 tsii-132 jan tik kuei147 kü:111 *chun:85 tsek*  
then everything has natural rules and norms.

3. *ch'ao64 sie:40* »to copy»:  
38:10a wu jen9 *ch'ao64 sie:40*  
there is nobody to copy (them).
4. *ch'et60 ti:53* »through and through»:  
8:24a t'a9 *ch'et60 ti:53* chi:30 shi che-162 yit1 ko-118 sin61  
it is through and through this one mind.
5. *jen18 p'ai-85* »to direct, to assign»:  
24:7b tao-162 shi ko-118 sing-61 chung2 *jen18 p'ai-85* tiao;75 li:96  
»tao» is an order which is assigned to Nature.
6. *hia-1 shou:64* »to set to work, to start»:  
2:20b yu ko-118 *hia-1 shou:64* ch'u-141  
there is a starting-point.
7. *hien-147 tsai* »at present, now»:  
46:2a *hien-147 tsai* tik pien-9 shi t'i:188  
the present is the substance.
8. *hok203 an-72* »dark, darkness»:  
7:25b tan-9 *hok203 an-72* hing;144 put tek  
but one cannot walk in the dark.
9. *hop30 tang102* »suitable, proper»:  
10:13a tan-9 hiao-39 ti-57 shi *hop30 tang102* tik shi-6  
but filial piety and brotherly submission are suitable matters.
10. *jok86 nao-191* »excitement, excited»:  
2:39a kai-140 sin61 hia-1 *jok86 nao-191*  
therefore, when the mind is excited.
11. *ju kin9* »at present, now»:  
1:2a *ju kin9* ts'üan;11 shit37 liao siao:42 hüek39 kung48 fu37  
now the work of teaching young people is completely neglected.
12. *ki184 huang140* »a difficulty, famine»:  
64:22b kai-140 shi *ki184 huang140* kik75 liao  
therefore the difficulty was extreme.
13. *kie-102 hien-170* »limit», »boundary line»:  
20:52a che-162 si-31 ko-118 *kie-102 hien-170* tsü-132 fen18 ming72  
these four boundary lines are naturally clear.
14. *kin9 nien51* »this year»:  
1:16b *kin9 nien51* shang-42 yu shu-66 yüet74  
there are still several months left in this year.

15. *kuei*<sup>147</sup> *ch'eng*<sup>115</sup> »rules and regulations»:  
 2:36b tsī-132 lip<sup>117</sup> *kuei*<sup>147</sup> *ch'eng*<sup>115</sup> (Wentsi)  
 you must draw up the rules yourself.
16. *kung*<sup>48</sup> *fu*<sup>37</sup> »activity, work»:  
 24:21a chī:30 shī yit<sup>1</sup> kien-9 *kung*<sup>48</sup> *fu*<sup>37</sup>  
 it is simply one activity.
17. *k'ing*:<sup>181</sup> *k'ok*<sup>18</sup> »an instant, just now»:  
 1:30a put k'o *k'ing*:<sup>181</sup> *k'ok*<sup>18</sup> kien-169 tuan-69 tik shī-6  
 it is an undertaking that must not be interrupted for a moment.
18. *k'ok*<sup>10</sup> *fuk*<sup>60</sup> »to recapture»:  
 3:6b er shī<sup>70</sup> *k'ok*<sup>10</sup> *fuk*<sup>60</sup> chī kung<sup>19</sup> ye (Wentsi)  
 and do the work of recapturing.
19. *k'uān*<sup>40</sup> *k'uot*<sup>169</sup> »broad, generous»:  
 7:14b ti-32 pu-77 tsī-132 jan *k'uān*<sup>40</sup> *k'uot*<sup>169</sup>  
 the position is spontaneously widened.
20. *lan*-<sup>86</sup> *shuk*<sup>86</sup> »very well versed in»:  
 6:9b yao ship<sup>24</sup> fen-18 *lan*-<sup>86</sup> *shuk*<sup>86</sup>  
 you must be completely versed in it.
21. *leng*:<sup>15</sup> *tan*-<sup>85</sup> »lonely, estranged, indifferent»:  
 59:8a tan-9 so wei-149 *leng*:<sup>15</sup> *tan*-<sup>85</sup> sheng<sup>100</sup> huot<sup>85</sup> che (Wentsi)  
 but what you say about living in a lonely way . . .
22. *liao jan* »certainly, evidently, clearly»:  
 4:25a *liao jan* ming<sup>72</sup> pok<sup>106</sup>  
 one must understand clearly.
23. *ling*<sup>173</sup> *sui*-<sup>112</sup> »fragments, miscellaneous»:  
 37:61a jan shang-42 yu *ling*<sup>173</sup> *sui*-<sup>112</sup> hao:38 ch'u-141  
 but there are still some miscellaneous good points.
24. *pen*:<sup>75</sup> *ling*:<sup>181</sup> »ability, skill»:  
 15:16a chung-109 jen<sup>9</sup> meit na-163 *pen*:<sup>75</sup> *ling*:<sup>181</sup>  
 everyone does not have that ability.
25. *pu*-<sup>50</sup> *chi*-<sup>122</sup> »to arrange»:  
 2:36b yu-29 pit<sup>61</sup> tai-60 yu so an<sup>40</sup> p'ai<sup>64</sup> *pu*-<sup>50</sup> *chi*-<sup>122</sup>  
 one must wait until one has something to appoint and arrange.
26. *p'an*-<sup>18</sup> *tuan*-<sup>69</sup> »to determine, to decide, to criticize»:  
 43:38a hou-60 hüek<sup>39</sup> ju ho pien-9 kan<sup>66</sup> *p'an*-<sup>18</sup> *tuan*-<sup>69</sup> (Wentsi)  
 how can we, their pupils, dare to criticize them?

27. *p'ei-9 fuk74* »to respect, to have confidence in»:  
 1:6b sū181 shī chen109 ko-118 kung158 hing;144 *p'ei-9 fuk74*  
 we must truly practise it personally and respect it.
28. *p'ou:18 sik75* »to divide, to distinguish»:  
 3:7a ho nan172 *p'ou:18 sik75* chī yu (Wentsi)  
 what difficulty is there in solving this?
29. *si-120 mit40* »fine, in detail»:  
 6:32b k'üek26 *si-120 mit40* shang30 liang166  
 and proceed to discuss in detail.
30. *sou64 sün;41* »to search out»:  
 1:20a chī:30 k'ü-28 *sou64 sün;41* li:145 mien-176 siao:42 siao:42 tsiet118 muk109  
 they just pick out the unimportant paragraphs.
31. *shang30 liang166* »to deliberate, to discuss»:  
 50:23b sū181 keng-73 *shang30 liang166* (Wentsi)  
 you must deliberate still more.
32. *sheng:109 lik19* »to save strength»:  
 2:20b tsek yu;43 *sheng:109 lik19* ye  
 and still more save strength.
33. *ti-32 pu-77* »place, position, situations»:  
 7:14b *ti-32 pu-77* tsī-132 jan k'uan40 k'uot169  
 the position is spontaneously widened.
34. *t'ou-162 ch'et60* »thoroughly, to comprehend»:  
 14:37a yao li:96 hui-73 tek *t'ou-162 ch'et60*  
 we must understand it thoroughly.
35. *t'ung162 t'ou-162* »to comprehend»:  
 1:20a tsī-132 jan *t'ung162 t'ou-162*  
 it will be understood spontaneously.
36. *t'ung-104 k'uai-61* »cheerful, delighted, happy»:  
 7:11a chī:30 wu-19 tsī-132 kia40 yit1 shī;72 *t'ung-104 k'uai-61*  
 if we are merely bent on being happy for a while.
37. *tsing-85 kiet85* »pure, clean»:  
 1:6a sao:64 tek siao:42 ch'u-141 *tsing-85 kiet85*  
 when the small places are swept clean.
38. *tsī si-120* »careful, minutely»:  
 8:14b ye-36 lai9 shuot149 tsī kik75 *tsī si-120*  
 yesterday night I explained this very minutely.

39. *ts'ien;18 mien-176* »above, before, future»:

- a. 54:3a *ts'ien;18 mien-176* shuot149 ju ts'i  
in the earlier part (above) he said in this way.
- b. 53:66a tu163 put sül181 wen-30 *ts'ien;18 mien-176* shi-6  
we need not ask about future things.

40. *wei;26 hien.170* »danger»:

- 32:18a tan-9 shi k'ung:61 kü-61 *wei;26 hien.170*  
but he fears danger.

41. *yen:109 ts'ien;18* »before one's eyes, in front of»:

- 8:1a kien-147 hü:149 to36 tao-162 li:96 tu163 tsai *yen:109 ts'ien;18*  
he sees that the many principles are all before his eyes.

42. *yi-61 si-61* »thought, meaning, idea»:

- 11:6a k'üek26 shi hun;85 jan hao:38 tik *yi-61 si-61*  
it is certainly a perfectly good thought.

43. *yung:85 yüan:162* »eternal, everlasting»:

- 6:7b *yung:85 yüan:162* put wang-61  
then we shall never forget.

The majority of the above binomes are coordinate compounds. Exceptions are: *kin9 nien51* (14), *kung48 fu37* (16), *pen.75 ling:181* (24), *ts'ien;18 mien-176* (39), and *yen:109 ts'ien;18* (41), which are subordinate compounds, and *ch'et60 ti:53* (4), *hia-1 shou:64* (6), and *sheng:109 lik19* (32) which are verb-object compounds.

Various T'ang time works are indicated by the *thesauri* as earliest find-places. The Tsin shu, the Nan Pei shi, Po Kü-yi, Han Yü, and Tu Fu are often mentioned. *Fen18 p'ai-85* (5), *ki184 huang140* (12), and *t'ung-104 k'uai-61* (36) are dated to T'ang time by Kanwa, Lienmien and Ts'i yüan respectively. Most of the above binomes are current today, many of them are very common, e. g. *hia-1 shou:64* (6), *hok203 an-72* (8), *ju kin9* (11), *ling173 sui-112* (23), *shang30 liang166* (31), *tsi si-120* (38), and *yi-61 si-61* (42). The last mentioned is one of the most common binomes in Chu Hi's language. (The character *si* has the fourth tone mark in the text when adjoined to the character *yi-61*). *Ju kin9*, *ling173 sui-112*, and *tsi si-120* are also met with very often in the Ts'üanshu. There are some cases among the binomes in this group which Chu Hi employs fairly often, but which belong to high-flown speech today: *chun:85 tsek* (2), *hop30 tang102* (9), *t'ou-162 ch'et60* (34), and *t'ung162 t'ou-162* (35). Of the following binomes just a few cases are to be found: *chang-170 ai-112* (1), *ch'ao64 sie:40* (3), *hien-147 tsai* (7), *hok203 an-72* (8), *ki184 huang140* (12), *p'ei-9 fuk74* (27), *tsing-85 kiet85* (37), and *yung:85 yüan:162* (43). The remaining binomes in this group, except *kung48 fu37* (16) are somewhat more frequent. *Kung48 fu37* which is very common in the Ts'üanshu, means only »activity, work», not »time, leisure», i. e. it has the same meaning as the homonymous word *kung19*.

/u37 in the modern language. *Ts'ien;18 mien-176* (39) in example b evidently refers to the future instead of the past — judging from the context. For the rest, the above binomes seem to have the same meaning as they have today.

C. 45 Binomes the earliest recorded examples of which in high literature fall within the Wu-tai and the Sung periods:

1. *an40 tun-181* »to arrange, to place»:  
45:1b ming72 ju ho *an40 tun-181*  
how do you place the word »ming»?
2. *chao-86 kuan:118* »to control, to care for»:  
2:24b yük76 t'a9 *chao-86 kuan:118* hü:149 to36 tao-162 li:96  
we want it to control the many principles.
3. *cheng:66 li:96* »to adjust, to put in order»:  
14:31b tsek sü181 sien10 *cheng:66 li:96* liao yi:49 huai-32 tik liao  
first one must adjust what has already been spoiled.
4. *chok lok140* »place, settled»:  
45:3a shī:38 sün:41 tek ko-118 ts'ing:61 tsī-39 *chok lok140*  
because it gives us the true application of the term »feeling».
5. *chun:85 pei-9* »to prepare, to get ready»:  
6:45b yu-29 sien10 *chun:85 pei-9* hüek39 che  
and first prepare the learner.
6. *ch'ai49 k'ien:162* »to send, to commission»:  
30:7a ling-9 wo:62 tek hao:38 *ch'ai48 k'ien:162* er k'ü-28  
when I receive a proper commission I will go.
7. *ch'it30 jan-184* »to eat rice»:  
24:21b ju chok yi145 *ch'it30 jan-184*  
it is like dressing and eating.
8. *ch'uān;9 pu-50* »to propagate, propagation»:  
6:73b jan k'i *ch'uān;9 pu-50* weih shen-99 kuang:53 (Wentsi)  
but the propagation of it was not very wide.
9. *fang38 ai-112* »to hinder, obstacle»:  
9:34b k'ung:61 *fang38 ai-112* tso:48 pien162 jen9 yu-29 *fang38 ai-112* yu-30  
pien162 jen9  
they were afraid to hinder people on the left or on the right side.
10. *fang-66 hia-1* »to put down, to loosen»:  
1:2b ye chi:30 *fang-66 hia-1* che-162 king-66 put tek  
just to put down this reverence will not do.

11. *fen18 hiao:72* »clear, clearly understood»:  
 1:20b chi:30 yuan;120 ta:37 ch'u-141 k'an-109 tek *fen18 hiao:72*  
 just because they perceived the important passages clearly.
12. *han;30 hu;119* »careless, muddled»:  
 1:7a put k'o *han;30 hu;119* hu-149 tuan:111 (Wentsi)  
 one must not carelessly hide one's shortcomings.
13. *hiao:72 tek* »to know, to comprehend»:  
 47:17b jan jok chen109 ko-118 *hiao:72 tek*  
 but if we really understand.
14. *hou-60 mien-176* »behind, below»:  
 54:3a ts'ien;18 mien-176 shuot149 ju ts'i, *hou-60 mien-176* yu-29 tul63 fan:29  
 liao  
 in the earlier part (above) he said in this way, and later (below) it was  
 all to the contrary.
15. *hu;130 luan-5* »confused, at random»:  
 2:7b *hu;130 luan-5* tiao-64 yit1 yü:149  
 to change a phrase at random.
16. *hut61 luek102* »to neglect»:  
 11:16b Ts'i yu;85 pien-9 *hut61 luek102* liao  
 Ts'i-yu neglected (this).
17. *hui61 fuk60* »to revert to the type»:  
 4:18a *hui61 fuk60* chi hing;59 yit1 tuan-79 (Wentsi)  
 the section about reverting to the type . . .
18. *hü:149 to36* »many, very much»:  
 3:10b kok30 kok30 ye yu *hü:149 to36* tao-162 li:96  
 they also have a great many principles (all of them).
19. *ki75 hui-73* »opportunity, occasion»:  
 20:15a yi ts'i chih111 *ki75 hui-73* chen109 put yi-74 tek ye  
 from this we know that it is not easy to obtain the opportunity.
20. *kiang:149 shuot149* »to explain, to expound»:  
 1:35b yi chi-133 *kiang:149 shuot149* pien-160 lun-149 (Wentsi)  
 up to explaining and discussing.
21. *kiao8 shep-85* »mutual relations»:  
 4:18a yüü wai-36 jen9 wu *kiao8 shep-85* (Wentsi)  
 no intercourse with outsiders.

22. *kien32 lao93* »strong, durable»:  
 1:26b sü181 shi sien10 chuk118 kiao66 ki32 chi:32 *kien32 lao93*  
 he must first make the foundation strong.
23. *kuan-154 t'ung162* »to have a thorough understanding»:  
 7:25a jan hou-60 *kuan-154 t'ung162* tek ch'eng;149 yi-61 tik yi-61 si-61  
 afterwards you will thoroughly understand the meaning of making  
 the thoughts sincere.
24. *k'i-84 siang-152* »manner; bearing; aspect»:  
 20:44a ts'i shi shenmo yang-75 *k'i-84 siang-152*  
 what aspect is this?
25. *k'o-149 ch'eng;115* »schedule, curriculum»:  
 6:3a k'uan40 chok k'i;74 hien-170 kin:120 chok *k'o-149 ch'eng;115*  
 extend the time limit and reduce the curriculum.
26. *k'uai-61 huot85* »happy, satisfactory»:  
 1:20a chi:30 shi che-162 yit1 ko-118 tao-162 li:96 fang70 shi *k'uai-61 huot85*  
 if only this one principle is present, then there is satisfaction.
27. *k'uei141 k'ien-76* »in debt, deficiency»:  
 25:23a wu so *k'uei141 k'ien-76*  
 there is nothing that is deficient.
28. *lik19 liang-166* »strength, vigour, resources»:  
 1:10b jan hou-60 sui;170 tsii-132 kia40 *lik19 liang-166*  
 and then according to our resources.
29. *liao tek* »to understand»:  
 18:34b shi t'a9 ta-37 tuan-79 *liao tek*  
 on the whole he understood.
30. *man:85 yi-61* »satisfied»:  
 59:33b ts'i yu;43 shi:9 jen9 put *man:85 yi-61* (Wentsi)  
 this still more causes people to be dissatisfied.
31. *mu75 yang-75* »manner, form, pattern»:  
 17:7b shi che-162 *mu75 yang-75*  
 it is this pattern.
32. *pen:75 lai9* »original»:  
 5:22b ts'i yik8 chi:30 shuot149 *pen:75 lai9* tsii-132 shi ju ts'i  
 this just means that it is originally like this.
33. *p'ing;61 ku-64* »proof, evidence»:  
 37:17a yik8 put kien-147 so *p'ing;61 ku-64* ch'u-141  
 I do not see any evidence.

34. *sī120 hao;152* »the least, slightest»:

1:16a hüek39 che jok yu *sī120 hao;152* k'i-84 tsai  
if the learner has the least energy.

35. *siao85 mo112* »to melt away, to use up — as energy»:

17:33b man-61 man-61 tik *siao85 mo112* liao  
it melts away slowly.

36. *shou:64 tuan-79* »method, skill, ability»:

1:26a pien-9 put shī shat79 jen9 *shou:64 tuan-79* (quotation)  
it is not a method of killing people.

37. *tan64 kok169* »to delay, hinder»:

3:21a tsek pi:60 ts'i *tan64 kok169* (Wentsi)  
and so they hinder each other.

38. *tan64 tang102* »to bear, to endure»:

14:6b *tan64 tang102* put tek che-162 shi-6  
he cannot cope with this affair.

39. *tik tang-102* »proper, careful»:

2:44b nai wei *tik tang-102* er:89 (Wentsi)  
it is also proper.

40. *tsung:120 lun-149* »a general summary»:

1:8b *tsung:120 lun-149* wei hüek39 chī fang70  
a general summary of the methods of studying.

41. *ts'in147 ts'iet18* »to the point»:

7:20a sūl81 shī kien-147 tek ko-118 tao-162 li:96 *ts'in147 ts'iet18* liao  
it is necessary to see the principles to the point.

42. *wai-36 mien-176* »outside, the outer surface»:

1:6a *wai-36 mien-176* ye tso-9 tek hao:38  
the outside is also well done.

43. *yi164 chī-85* »to cure, to heal»:

2:6b jan yik8 piet18 wu tao-162 li:96 *yi164 chī-85*  
but there is no other principle that can heal.

44. *yüan;10 lai9* »original»:

2:23a *yüan;10 lai9* tul63 wu t'o9 fap85  
originally there was no other method.

45. *yüek120 mok64* »to estimate, to guess»:

3:26b chī:30 *yüek120 mok64* jen-61 tik shuot149 liang:11 chik172 chüek130  
ye tek  
just guessingly say that two legs will also do.

The majority of the above binomes again are coordinate compounds. There are a couple of subordinate compounds: *hou*-60 *mien*-176 (14), *man*:85 *yi*-61 (30), *shou*:64 *tuan*-79 (36), *wai*-36 *mien*-176 (42), and one verb-object compound: *ch'it*30 *fan*-184 (7). *Fang*-66 *hia*-1 (10), *hiao*:72 *tek* (13), and *liao tek* (29) may be said to be composed of a principal verb and an auxiliary (cf. IV:3,8 and 10).

As far as the dates of earliest find-places are concerned, three of these binomes are dated by the *thesauri* in the Wu-tai period (Kiu-134 T'ang shu): *cheng*:66 *li*:96 (3), *ch'ai*48 *k'ien*:162 (6), and *han*:30 *hu*;119 (12), and all the others in the Sung era. About one-third has some work by the famous Ou-yang Siu or Su Shī as earliest example. Some are dated to a Buddhist text, and for some, poems by contemporaries of Chu Hi are given as first examples. The word *kuan*-154 *t'ung*162 (23) is said to originate from Chu Hi. Among the above binomes there are some which are not listed in the Peiwen, but which are said by the Ts'i hai, the Ts'i yüan or the Kanwa to have a Chu Hi text as earliest source (the Ts'i hai mentions the Ts'üanshu): *chok lok*140 (4), *hiao*:72 *tek* (13), *kiao*8 *shep*-85 (21), *liao tek* (29), *tan*64 *tang*102 (38), *ts'in*147 *ts'iet*18 (41), *yüan*:10 *lai*9 (44), and *yüek*120 *mok*64 (45). *Wai*-36 *mien*-176 (42) is dated to the 11th century by the P'ientsi.

On a first glance at these binomes we can ascertain that most of them belong to the everyday language of modern times. There are, however, some among them which are not exactly colloquial, but are used in polished speech, e. g. *chok lok*140 (4), *kien*32 *lao*93 (22), *kuan*-154 *t'ung*162 (23), *tik tang*-102 (39), and *ts'in*147 *ts'iet*18 (41).

Regarding their frequency in the Ts'üanshu it may be remarked that the following binomes are met with very often: *chao*-86 *kuan*:118 (2), *fen*18 *hiao*:72 (11), *hiao*:72 *tek* (13), *hü*:149 *to*36 (18), *kuan*-154 *t'ung*162 (23), *k'o*-149 *ch'eng*:115 (25), *k'uai*-61 *huo*85 (26), *k'uei*141 *k'ien*-76 (27), *lik*19 *liang*-166 (28), *tsung*:120 *lun*-149 (40), and *ts'in*147 *ts'iet*18 (41). The following binomes are rare: *ch'ai*48 *k'ien*:162 (6), *ch'u'an*:9 *pu*50 (8), *fang*38 *ai*-112 (9), *han*:30 *hu*;119 (12), *hui*61 *fuk*60 (17), *shou*:64 *tuan*-79 (36), and *yi*164 *chi*-85 (43). Those which have not been enumerated just now occur occasionally. Some of the binomes of which Chu Hi makes frequent use, e. g. *kuan*-154 *t'ung*162 and *ts'in*147 *ts'iet*18, belong to high-flown speech today. On the other hand, *fang*38 *ai*-112 and *yi*164 *chi*-85, for example, are very common now, but Chu Hi very seldom uses these words.

As far as meaning is concerned, the binomes under discussion seem to convey the same meaning in Chu Hi's language as they do today, and they likewise function in the same way.

D. 23 Binomes the earliest recorded examples of which in high literature fall within the times after Chu Hi.

1. *chit*116 *ai*-112 »obstacle, to obstruct»:

10:2b *pit*61 *ting*-40 *yu chit*116 *ai*-112 *ch'u*-141  
there must be some obstacle.

2. *chun:85 ch'eng;115* »standard, the correct method»:  
 3:20b er wan-140 shi-1 hüek39 che chi *chun:85 ch'eng;115* ye (Wentsi)  
 it is the correct method of the learners of all generations.
3. *er kin9* »now»:  
 13:31b ts'ie:1 ju jen9 *er kin9* tso-9 shi-6  
 as when people now are performing something.
4. *hi-120 lei-120* »to implicate, entangle»:  
 2:10b tan-9 wei wut93 yük76 *hi-120 lei-120*  
 but entangled in worldly desires.
5. *hien;169 hua-149* »pleasant talk, chit-chat»:  
 1:7b shao:42 shuot149 *hien;169 hua-149* (Wentsi)  
 talk less nonsense.
6. *hien-170 chi-18* »to control, delimitation»:  
 23:28a tsek shi *hien-170 chi-18* jen9 sin61 che  
 it is that which controls the human mind.
7. *hu;119 t'u;32 (tu;32)* »diffuse, indefinite»:  
 21:26b sing-61 shi ko-118 *hu;119 t'u;32* put fen18 ming72 tik wut93 shi-6  
 nature is an indefinite and indistinct phenomenon.
8. *huot85 tung-19* »active»:  
 12:15b fang70 yu ko-118 *huot85 tung-19* chang:168 tsin-162 ch'u-141  
 then and only then is there activity and progress.
9. *kiang:149 kiu116* »to analyse, to explain»:  
 1:10b *kiang:149 kiu116* tek yi-123 li:96 fen18 ming72  
 and explain the principles of righteousness clearly.
10. *k'i-30 kü-12* »utensils, articles»:  
 15:16a yu hü:149 to36 *k'i-30 kü-12* pao:40 pei-154  
 there are many utensils and valuables.
11. *k'uei116 ts'ek85* »to make observations»:  
 11:14a kin9 *k'uei116 ts'ek85* t'a9 put tek (Wentsi)  
 now we cannot make observations on him.
12. *li:145 mien-176* »inside»:  
 46:1b li:96 shi tao-162 tsii-39 *li:145 mien-176* hü:149 to36 li:96 mok130  
 Li consists of numerous veil-like principles included in the term Tao.
13. *p'ei;32 chik75* »to assist, to cultivate»:  
 14:39a wei-149 fu;64 ch'i;64 *p'ei;32 chik75*  
 it means to uphold and cultivate.

14. *sip124 shuk86* »versed in»:  
     12:5a jok kü44 sang30 *sip124 shuk86* yü li:113 wen;67  
         if when in mourning one is versed in the ceremonies.
15. *shit40 tsien-157* »practical»:  
     1:28b yu-29 wu *shit40 tsien-157* chī chī-61  
         and no practical aim.
16. *t'i:188 ch'at40* »to investigate»:  
     3:33a ts'i tsek yu;43 tang102 kiang:116 kiu116 *t'i:188 ch'at40* ye (Wentsi)  
         this you should still more analyse and investigate.
17. *t'ui-162 pu-77* »to retire»:  
     51:29a t'a9 chī:30 yao *t'ui-162 pu-77*  
         he only wants to retire.
18. *tsik115 lei:120* »to accumulate»:  
     20:37a yen;149 ts'i k'i-84 shī *tsik115 lei:120* hing;144 yi-123 chī kung19 (Wentsi)  
         it says that energy is the accumulation of the merits of practising  
         righteousness.
19. *tsin-162 pu-77* »progress, to progress»:  
     11:13a tsek shī mien-176 ts'ien;18 yu;94 yu k'o *tsin-162 pu-77*  
         then it will be possible to progress still more (Wentsi).
20. *ts'ai;75 liao-68* »materials, character»:  
     47:19a jen9 shī jen9:7 chī *ts'ai;75 liao-68*  
         man is the material of »jen».
21. *wen85 sip124* »to practise, to review»:  
     6:39a tsek sūl81 sün;60 huan;96 put chu-9 *wen85 sip124* (Wentsi)  
         you must review them in their proper turn without ceasing.
22. *yen;112 kiu116* »to investigate minutely»:  
     55:5a ts'ie:1 tsiang41 t'o9 shuot149 k'ü-28 *yen;112 kiu116*  
         and investigate the sayings of others.
23. *yün-162 yung-101* »to make use of, to apply»:  
     2:36b yü k'i liu85 hing;144 *yün-162 yung-101* chī shit40  
         as to the reality of its outflow and application.

Here again the majority are coordinate compounds. But compared with the preceding groups the proportion of other kinds of binomes is larger. There are 4 subordinate compounds: *chun:85 ch'eng;115* (2), *er kin9* (3), *hien;169 hua-149* (5), *li:145 mien-176* (12); 2 verb + object compounds: *t'ui-162 pu-77* (17), *tsin-162 pu-77* (19), and finally *shit40 tsien-157* (15), which is composed of an adverb and a verb.

All the above binomes except one are quoted by the *thesauri* from texts written later than Sung time. The exception, *hi-120 lei-120* (4), is dated to the end of the Sung period. Most of them have the Sung shī or the Kin shī (Yüan era) as first find-places. Two are not included in the Peiwen: *huot149 tung-19* (8) (Yüan era), and *li:145 mien-176* (12) (Ming era). These dates are given by the Kanwa and are just mentioned in passing.

Most of the binomes in this group are used in ordinary conversation today. Some of them are, however, bookish: *k'uei116 ts'ek85* (11), *sip24 shuk86* (14) — *shuk86 sip124* is very common today — and *t'i:188 ch'at40* (16).

Chu Hi makes frequent use of the following binomes: *chüt116 ai-112* (1), *li:145 mien-176* (12), *t'ui-162 pu-77* (17), *tsik115 lei:120* (18), and *tsin-162 pu-77* (19). The following binomes occur now and then: *er kin9* (3), *kiang:149 kiu116* (9), *t'i:188 ch'at40* (16), *wen85 sip124* (21), *yen;112 kiu116* (22), and *yün-162 yung-101* (23).

The remaining binomes, i. e. more than half of the binomes of this group, are rare. Some of them actually occur just once or twice. Of *hu;119 t'u;32* (7), for instance, I have found one isolated case only. Judging from the context in which it appears, it does not mean »stupid, foolish» as in the modern language.

The word *er kin9* (3) requires special attention. Although it is difficult to determine whether one is confronted with the colloquial binome *er kin9* or the literary *kin9* connected with a preceding clause by *er*, I believe that *er kin9* is sometimes a binome meaning »now, at present», in Chu Hi's language. This binome he uses more often than its synonym *hien-147 tsai* (cf. B:7). *Er kin9* is very common in the Ts'ing novel Ju lin wai shī whereas it is entirely missing in the other novels examined by B. Karlgren.<sup>1)</sup> It is interesting to note that the author of this novel was from Anhui, the native province of Chu Hi's family.

The above binomes, except *hu;119 t'u;32* (7), referred to above, and *kiang:149 kiu116* (9), seem to convey the same meaning and function as they do now. In the modern language *kiang:149 kiu116* generally means »refined», »particular about», but Chu Hi uses it only in the sense indicated above.

#### E. 42 Binomes for which no date of their first occurrence in high literature has been obtained.

##### 1. *chao-86 ku-181* »to pay attention to»:

30:40b siang:61 shī *chao-86 ku-181* put tao-18

I think we cannot pay attention to that.

##### 2. *che162 kai-140* »to cover over»:

10:44a k'iap61 *che162 kai-140* tek kuo-162

it just covers over the fault.

<sup>1)</sup> B. Karlgren: New Excursions in Chinese Grammar, BMFEA 24, p. 70.

3. *che162 pi-140* »to hide, to conceal»:  
6:17b tsek ts'i sin61 pien-9 pei-145 ts'i kien-147 *che162 pi-140* liao  
then the mind is concealed by this discernment.
4. *ch'a-149 yi-102* »to be surprised, to surprise»:  
38:4b ye shi *ch'a-149 yi-102*  
that is also surprising.
5. *ch'ek64 huai-32* »to break to pieces»:  
14:31b Ts'i;210 tsek yi:49 king120 *ch'ek64 huai-32* liao  
and Ts'i was already demolished.
6. *ch'i;64 shou:40* »to keep hold of»:  
42:19b sü181 ch'ang;50 sing:109 ch'at40 *ch'i;64 shou:40* er:128 (Wentsi)  
you must always investigate and keep hold of it.
7. *fen120 tsap172* »mixed, not sorted»:  
4:11b ying-61 shi-6 *fen120 tsap172*  
when fulfilling different sorts of duties.
8. *hia-1 mien-176* »below, from beneath»:  
20:47b k'i-84 ts'ung;60 *hia-1 mien-176* kun:85 tao-18 shang-1 mien-176  
the steam is flowing from beneath upwards.
9. *kai:66 pien-149* »to change, to alter»:  
6:42b k'üek26 *kai:66 pien-149* tek put t'ung;30  
but they have altered differently.
10. *kang18 ying-112* »hard, firm»:  
20:27a sü181 shi *kang18 ying-112* lip117 tek küek130 chu-9  
one must firmly establish a point d'appui.
11. *kiet120 kuo:75* »outcome, result»:  
16:19b weih tao-18 na-163 ch'eng;62 tsiu *kiet120 kuo:75* ch'u-141  
he did not attain accomplishment and result.
12. *kung66 p'o-112* »to assault»:  
1:14b *kung66 p'o-112* liao kuan169 hien-170  
when the frontier is assaulted.
13. *kuo-162 ts'ok167* »fault, offence»:  
29:22a pit61 yu *kuo-162 ts'ok167* ye  
there must be faults.
14. *k'an-109 kien-147* »to see, to perceive»:  
30:29b yu-29 *k'an-109 kien-147* na-163 . . . tao-162 li:96 ch'ut17 lai9  
and he perceived those principles . . .

15. *k'an-109 p'o-112* »to see through»:

8:30a hou-60 hut61 jan *k'an-109 p'o-112* liao  
if one afterwards suddenly perceives.

16. *k'ung:61 p'ak61* »to fear, probably»:

38:26a *k'ung:61 p'ak61* yi:9 li:113 ye nan172 hing;144  
I am afraid that the rules of ceremony are also hard to practise.

17. *mao82 ping-104* »fault, defect»:

62:48b yu-29 yu sie7 *mao82 ping-104*  
they also have some faults.

18. *mit40 ts'iet18* »intimate, closely»:

3:5b *mit40 ts'iet18* t'i:188 jen-149 (Wentsi)  
consider and recognise closely.

19. *mien-176 ts'ien;18* »in front of»:

57:25b jen9 *mien-176 ts'ien;18* tik shi yit1 yang-75  
face to face with someone is the same (as behind the back)

20. *nung-55 huai-32* »to spoil, to put out of order»:

30:35b sien10 *nung-55 huai-32* liao  
it is put out of order beforehand.

21. *pi:81 kiao:159* »to compare»:

6:47a tsiang41 liang:11 tuan-79 *pi:81 kiao:159*  
and compare the two sections.

22. *sang-30 shit37* »to lose, to fail»:

50:22a chi-133 Han-85 tul63 *sang-30 shit37* liao.  
they had all been lost before Han.

23. *siang;149 si-120* »detailed, carefully»:

48:1a tsii-132 *siang;149 si-120* yen-187 chi  
investigate this in detail yourself.

24. *sü181 yao* »must, should»:

1:16b k'üek26 *sü181 yao* tai-60 ming72 jit72  
but we must wait until to-morrow.

25. *shuot149 hua-149* »to talk, to speak»:

3:13a put yao t'ien85 hü:149 to36 wu yik108 *shuot149 hua-149*  
do not add a lot of unprofitable talking.

26. *shuot149 p'o-112* »to reveal»:

3:22a yi:49 *shuot149 p'o-112* ts'i ping-104 (Wentsi)  
this fault has been revealed.

27. *teng:118 tai-60* »to wait, to wait for»:  
 1:16b ts'ai;120 *teng:118 tai-60* ta-37 hiang-181 muk109 hou-60 fang70 tso-9  
 if we wait for an important task and then act . . .
28. *tik k'uek112* »certain, true, clearly»:  
 3:24b kien-147 tek put *tik k'uek112*  
 he did not see it clearly.
29. *tot37 k'u-28* »to snatch from»:  
 1:14b pei-145 jen9 *tot37 k'u-28*  
 it is snatched away by people.
30. *t'ui64 sün;41* »to investigate»:  
 1:28b *t'ui64 sün;41* yi-123 li:96 (Wentsi)  
 when investigating the principles of righteousness.
31. *tsan-154 ch'eng;62* »to approve, to help»:  
 5:26a pit61 put tan-61 *tsan-154 ch'eng;62* chi (Wentsi)  
 it is necessary not to shrink from helping them.
32. *tsiep64 sük120* »to join on, to connect with»:  
 14:12b pien-9 neng *tsiep64 sük120*  
 then one can join on.
33. *ts'ai94 yi;103* »to doubt, to suspect»:  
 5:25b kin9 jit72 *ts'ai94 yi;103* ming72 jit72 *ts'ai94 yi;103* (Wentsi)  
 if we doubt today we shall doubt tomorrow.
34. *ts'u119 pao-72* »coarse, rough»:  
 17:44a pit61 shi ko-118 pi:163 suk9 *ts'u119 pao-72* tik jen9  
 he must be a rustic and coarse man.
35. *wan,96 sok120* »to turn over in one's mind»:  
 30:2a tsii si-120 *wan,96 sok120*  
 if one turns it over in one's mind carefully.
36. *wang:75 fei-154* »to spend to no purpose»:  
 6:4a yu-29 *wang:75 fei-154* sin61 lik19  
 and again waste vigour of mind.
37. *wei:38 t'ok149* »to entrust»:  
 11:21b yu-29 ju *wei:38 t'ok149* jen9 shii-6  
 it is like entrusting someone with something.
38. *kin:120 yao* »urgent and important»:  
 1:10a er kin9 *kin:120 yao* ts'ie:1 k'an-109 sheng-128 jen9 ju ho  
 now it is urgent and important to observe how the sages were.

39. *yao kin:120* »important»:

10:22b ts'i shi tsui-73 *yao kin:120* ch'u-141  
this is an extremely important passage.

40. *yi:9 k'ao-175* »to trust, to depend»:

33:30b kai-140 jen9 sin61 *yi:9 k'ao-175* put tek  
therefore one cannot trust the human mind.

41. *yung-101 kung19* »to work hard, to practise»:

24:15a ku-31 yük76 hüek39 che *yung-101 kung19* (Wentsi).  
we surely want the learner to work hard.

42. *yü:173 san:9* »umbrella»:

50:16a chi:30 si-9 ko-118 *yü:173 san:9*  
it is simply like an umbrella.

The following binomes in this group are subordinate compounds: *hia-1 mien-176* (8), *mao82 ping-104* (17), and *yü:173 san:9*(42). *Kiet120 kuo:75*(11), *shuot149 hua-149* (25), and *yung-101 kung19* (41) are verb-object compounds. There are six binomes here which may be said to consist of a verb + a resultative complement: *kung66 p'o-112* (12), *k'an-109 kien-147* (14), *k'an-109 p'o-112* (15), *nung-55 huai-32* (20), *shuot149 p'o-112* (26), and *tsan-154 ch'eng;62* (31). These complements may also be looked upon as auxiliary verbs (cf. IV:7). The remaining binomes in this group are all coordinate compounds.

None of the above binomes are — as far as I can find — listed in the Peiwen, and only two of them are to be found in the Ts'i hai and the Ts'i yüan: *kiet120 kuo:75* (11), and *mao82 ping-104* (17), but having failed to find a definite date for their first appearance in texts I have assigned them to this group. The former has a Buddhist work (*fot9 pen:75 hing;144 lun-149*) as text of first occurrence, and the latter is said to occur in *Hü;61 hien;30 siang109 ma:187 king120*.

Two of the above binomes are not heard in the everyday language of modern times: *ch'i;64 shou:40* (6), and *t'ui64 sün;41* (30). Anyone familiar with the present-day colloquial language will recognize that many of the binomes under discussion are extremely frequent today.

Some of these binomes may be said to be very frequent in the Ts'üanshu: *ch'i;64 shou:64* (6), *hia-1 mien-176* (8), *mit40 ts'iet18* (18), *siang;149 si-120* (23), *shuot149 hua-149* (25), *tsiep64 suk120* (32), *wang:75 fei-154* (36), *yao kin:120* (39), and *yung-101 kung19* (41). The following binomes are fairly common: *kang18 ying-112* (10), *kung66 p'o-112* (12), *k'an-109 p'o-112* (15), *sü181 yao* (24), *shuot149 p'o-112* (26), *t'ui64 sün;41* (30), *ts'ai94 yi;102* (33), *wan;96 sok120* (35), and *yi:9 k'ao-175* (40). The remaining binomes in this group, i. e. no less than 24, are all rare, many of them occurring only once or twice.

As far as meaning and function are concerned, these binomes all seem to have behaved in the same way then as they do now.

The order of the components of a binome is generally fixed. There are few cases in which both orders are possible. The words *kin:120 yao* (38) and *yao kin:120* (39) are such a case. They convey about the same meaning, the former being bookish, and the latter colloquial. It is interesting to notice that Chu Hi makes frequent use of *yao kin:120*, whereas *kin:120 yao* is seldom met with.

\* \* \*

In this survey of binomes we have seen that Chu Hi was familiar with a number of binomes which are extremely common in modern Mandarin. We have further seen that he made use of binomes which obviously had not been current for so long that they were used in literary texts during the Sung period. It is very likely that some of them have become current just because our famous philosopher employed them in his discourses. One reason why those which have been mentioned above as belonging to high-flown speech are understood and used may be that Chu Hi used them in his commentaries to the classics.

Alphabetical arrangement of the binomes dealt with above. (The capital letter after each binome indicates the section under which it is to be found):

1. an40 tun-181	C	24. fang-66 hia-1	C
2. chang-170 ai-112	B	25. fen18 hiao:72	C
3. chao-86 ku-181	E	26. fen18 p'ai-85	B
4. chao-86 kuan:118	C	27. fen120 tsap172	E
5. che162 kai-140	E	28. han;30 hu;119	C
6. che162 pi-140	E	29. hi-120 lei-120	D
7. cheng:86 li:96	C	30. hia-1 shou:64	B
8. chit116 ai-112	D	31. hia-1 mien-176	E
9. chok lok140	C	32. hiang-30 lai9	A
10. chun:85 ch'eng;115	D	33. hiao:72 tek	C
11. chun:85 pei-9	C	34. hien-147 tsai	B
12. chun:85 tsek	B	35. hien;169 hua-149	D
13. ch'a48 yi-102	A	36. hien-170 chi-18	D
14. ch'a-149 yi-102	E	37. hok203 an-72	B
15. ch'ai48 k'ien:162	C	38. hop30 tang102	B
16. ch'ao64 sie:40	B	39. hou-60 mien-176	C
17. ch'ek64 huai-32	E	40. hu;119 t'u;32	D
18. ch'et60 ti:53	B	41. hu;130 luan-5	C
19. ch'it30 fan-184	C	42. hut61 luek102	C
20. ch'i;64 shou:40	E	43. hui61 fuk60	C
21. ch'uan;9 pu-50	C	44. huot85 tung-19	D
22. er kin9	D	45. hü:149 to36	C
23. fang38 ai-112	C	46. jok86 nao-191	B

47. ju kin9	B	89. man:85 tsuk157	A
48. kai:66 pien-149	E	90. man:85 yi-61	C
49. kang18 ying-112	E	91. mao82 ping-104	E
50. ken75 ki32	A	92. mit40 ts'iet18	E
51. ki75 hui-73	C	93. mien-176 ts'ien;18	E
52. ki184 huang140	B	94. mu75 yang-75	C
53. kiang:149 kiu116	D	95. muk109 hia-1	A
54. kiang:149 shuot149	C	96. nung-55 huai-32	E
55. kiao8 shep85	C	97. pen:75 lai9	C
56. kie-102 hien-170	B	98. pen:75 ling:181	B
57. kiet120 kuo:75	E	99. pi:81 kiao:159	E
58. kien32 lao93	C	100. pu-50 chi-122	B
59. kien:64 chek64	A	101. p'an-18 tuan-69	B
60. kin9 nien51	B	102. p'ei-9 fuk74	B
61. kin:120 yao	E (41)	103. p'ei;32 chik75	D
62. kuan-154 t'ung-162	C	104. p'ing;61 kü-64	C
63. kuei147 ch'eng;115	B	105. p'ou:18 sik75	B
64. kung48 fu37	B	106. sang-30 shit37	E
65. kung66 p'o-112	E	107. si-120 mit40	B
66. kuo-162 ts'ok167	E	108. sip124 shuk86	D
67. k'an-109 kien-147	E	109. si120 hao;152	C
68. k'an-109 p'o-112	E	110. siang;149 si-120	E
69. k'ao:125 kiu116	A	111. siao85 mol12	C
70. k'i-30 kü-12	D	112. sou64 sün;41	B
71. k'i;74 hien-170	A	113. sü181 yao	E
72. k'i-84 siang-152	C	114. sün;41 t'ao:149	A
73. k'ing:181 k'ok18	B	115. shang30 liang166	B
74. k'o-149 ch'eng;115	C	116. sheng:109 lik19	B
75. k'ok10 fuk60	B	117. shit40 tsien-157	D
76. k'uai-61 huot85	C	118. shou:64 tuan-79	C
77. k'uan40 k'uot169	B	119. shuot149 hua-149	E
78. k'uei116 ts'ek85	D	120. shuot149 p'o-112	E
79. k'uei141 k'ien-76	C	121. tan64 kok169	C
80. k'ung:61 p'ak61	E	122. tan64 tang102	C
81. lan-86 shuk86	B	123. teng:118 tai-60	E
82. leng:15 tan-85	B	124. tik k'üek112	E
83. li:145 mien-176	D	125. tik tang-102	C
84. lik19 liang-166	C	126. ti-32 pu-77	B
85. liao jan	B	127. tot37 k'ü-28	E
86. liao tek	C	128. t'i:188 ch'at40	D
87. lin131 shi;72	A	129. t'ou-162 ch'et60	B
88. ling173 sui-112	B	130. t'ui64 sün;41	E

131.	t'ui-162	pu-77	D	148.	wang:75	fei-154	E
132.	t'ung162	t'ou-162	B	149.	wei;26	hien:170	B
133.	t'ung-104	k'uai-61	B	150.	wei:38	t'ok149	E
134.	tsan-154	ch'eng;62	E	151.	wen85	sip124	D
135.	tsik115	lei:120	D	152.	yao	kin:120	E
136.	tsiep64	sükl20	E	153.	yen:109	ts'ien;18	B
137.	tsin-162	pu-77	D	154.	yen;112	kiu116	D
138.	tsing-85	kiet85	B	155.	yi:9	k'ao-175	E
139.	tsi si-120		B	156.	yi-61	sī-61	B
140.	tsung:120	lun-149	C	157.	yi164	chī-85	C
141.	ts'ai;75	liao-68	D	158.	yung:85	yüān:162	B
142.	ts'ai94	yi;103	E	159.	yung-101	kung19	E
143.	ts'ien;18	mien-176	B	160.	yü:173	san:9	E
144.	ts'in147	ts'iet18	C	161.	yüan;10	lai9	C
145.	ts'u119	pao-72	E	162.	yüek120	mok64	C
146.	wai-36	mien-176	C	163.	yün-162	yung-101	D
147.	wan;96	sok120	E				

## CHAPTER III

### § 1. Reduplication.

Word formation by reduplication is a significant feature of the Chinese language. We are confronted with reduplication already in the Chou time literature. Thus, there are several instances of reduplication in the Book of Odes, e. g. *fan-85 fan-85* »drifting», *yub1 yub1* »distant», and it also happens that two pairs of characters are linked together so as to form one concept, e. g. *chan-62 chan-62 king10 king10* »trembling with fear». These expressions are all obsolete now, or used only in high-flown speech. In Mencius we find some reduplicated words which are still current, e. g. *ch'ang;50 ch'ang;50* »constantly», *jen9 jen9* »everybody». According to the *thesauri* there are many reduplicated words (syllables) in the Han time literature, e. g. *ch'u-141 ch'u-141* »everywhere», *jit72 jit72* »daily», *lüek102 lüek102* »slightly», *siao:42 siao:42* »very little», *wang:60 wang:60* »frequently». These words are all in use today. When an adjective (or adverb) is reduplicated, the meaning of the simple word is intensified, and when the reduplicated word is a noun, a plural or distributive sense is being expressed. Verbs are seldom reduplicated in the literary language, and when this does happen, an iterative sense is expressed. Chu Hi often uses the reduplicated adjectives and nouns just mentioned, and many others occurring in the Chou and Han time literature.

In modern Mandarin verbs are often reduplicated when a transitory sense is expressed, e. g. *k'an-109 k'an-109* »to have a look», *tsou:156 tsou:156* »to take a walk». This feature does not exist in Chu Hi's language. In the terminology of kinship, reduplication is very common in the modern colloquial language. The reduplicated word has here the same meaning as the simple one, e. g. *tie88 tie88* »father», *ko30 ko30* »elder brother», *tsie:38 tsie:38* »elder sister». I have not found any similar instances in the Ts'üanshu, although this kind of reduplication is known to have existed before Chu Hi's time.<sup>1)</sup>

A reduplicated adjective in the modern language often functions as an adverb, and may be followed by the particle *tik*. This is the case in Chu Hi's colloquial language as well. Further, classifiers are often reduplicated in the present-day language, whereas comparatively few nouns are reduplicated. There are only two classifiers that are reduplicated in the Ts'üanshu: *ko-118* and *kien-9*.

<sup>1)</sup> cf. Wang Li, Chung kuo yü fa li lun »Principles of Chinese Grammar» II, p. 152, 1947.

Chu Hi makes a frequent use of four-character groups of the *chan-62 chan-62 king10 king10* type referred to above.

The following sentences will give examples of reduplications met with in the Ts'üanshu. Those which already occur in the classical texts or in the Han time literature have been disregarded for reasons expounded in the discussion of binomes above (Ch. II):

*A. 1—6.*

1. 15:33b jok shī tsī-39 tsī-39 er k'iu;85 kū-30 kū-30 er lun-149  
if we seek after the meaning of each word and discuss every sentence.
2. 35:10b p'ien118 p'ien118 yao tsok9 mei:123 ts'i-18 shuot149  
for each chapter they want to make a good criticism.
3. 16:29a kien-147 tek tuan-79 tuan-79 tu163 shī tao-162 li:96 hop30 chok ju ts'i  
we realize that each section accords with the principles like this.
4. 46:3a chi:30 shī tai-9 tai-9 yu yit1 ko-118 jen9 ch'ut17 lai9 tso-9 chu:3  
only in each generation there appears one who stands out as leader.
5. 35:43b ju kin9 jen9 ko-118 ko-118 ki-149 kiao:159 li-18 hai-40  
now everybody takes note of advantages and disadvantages.
6. 1:23a kien-9 kien-9 shī tsī-132 kia40 wut93 shī-6  
everything is mine.

*B. 7—10.*

7. 45:18a tsien-85 tsien-85 kien-147 tek  
you will know it gradually.
8. 47:3b sü181 yao kin:120 kin:120 shou:40 chok  
we must guard it tightly.
9. 17:33b man-61 man-61 tik siao85 mol12 liao  
it melts away slowly.
10. 55:8b k'iap61 k'iap61 tik hao:38  
it is just right.

*C. 11—13.*

11. 21:17b shī-6 shī-6 wut93 wut93 t'ou;181 t'ou;181 kien-9 kien-9 kie106 chuang-64 chok che-162 tao-162 li:96  
all phenomena accord with these principles.
12. 25:36b shī-6 shī-6 kien-9 kien-9 li:96 hui-73 tek tao-18 yit1 ko-118 k'iap61 hao:38 ch'u-141  
all things will be grasped just to the point.
13. 34:18a yu-29 k'ü-28 li:96 hui-73 shenmo ling173 ling173 sui-112 sui-112  
what miscellaneous things should we pay attention to then?

*D. 14—20.*

14. 31:45b so wei-149 *huot85 p'ot85 p'ot85 tik*  
what is called extremely lively.
15. 43:31b wu;30 tao-162 *hok203 ts'ui-85 ts'ui-85 tik*  
our teaching was obscure and eclipsed.
16. 1:23b tsi-132 yu yit1 ko-118 *p'ing;51 p'ing;51 tang-102 tang-102 tao-162 li:96*  
they naturally have a just and proper principle.
17. 3:26b sül81 chok yu si-31 küek130 *p'ing;51 p'ing;51 cheng-77 cheng-77*  
it (= a chair) must have four legs equally long.
18. 28:14b shi-6 shi-6 wut93 wut93 *ta-37 ta-37 siao:42 siao:42 yit1 ts'i;210 tao-18*  
*k'iap61 hao:38 ch'u-141.*  
all phenomena, large and small, get their right proportions.
19. 10:2b tsi-132 jan chou30 pien-60 *t'ing;9 t'ing;9 tang-102 tang-102*  
it was naturally all-embracing and well-arranged.
20. 6:5a tul63 tsi-132 jen-61 tik *tien181 tien181 tao:9 tao:9*  
they were all so confused.

*E. 21.*

21. 51:19b ch'ang;50 chi:30 shi hü:149 to36 jen9 lai9 lai9 *k'u-28 k'u-28*  
there are always a lot of people coming and going.

*A. 1—6.*

The reduplicated nouns in sentences 1—4 occur quite often in Chu Hi's discussions. The earliest examples in high literature of *tsi-39 tsü-39*, *kü-30 kü-30* (1), and *p'ien118 p'ien118* (2) date from early T'ang time. I have not found any date for *tuan-79 tuan-79* (3) and *tai-9 tai-9* (4). The latter is not heard today, as instead of the simple *tai-9* the binome *shi-1 tai-9* is now used, and »each generation« would consequently be *shi-1 shi-1 tai-9 tai-9*. The other nouns may be reduplicated in modern Mandarin, but as a rule distribution is now expressed by *mei:80 yit1* + classifier + noun. Chu Hi sometimes employs *mei:80*, but then the noun follows directly on it. The classifier *ko-118* in sentence 5 occurs reduplicated fairly often in Chu Hi's colloquial language, and *kien-9* (6) occasionally. *Ko-118 ko-118* is recorded from T'ang time — the famous Tu Fu employs it in his poetry — and *kien-9 kien-9* from Sung time.

*B. 7—10.*

Here we are confronted with some reduplicated adjectives. *Tsien-85 tsien-85* »gradually» in sentence 7 occurs very often, and it always functions as an adverb. It is often heard today, and it generally has the particle *tik* added to it. In Chu Hi's language, however, it is never followed by this particle. The Lienmien gives the History of Tsin as earliest find-place for *tsien-85 tsien-85*. (The same character

occurs reduplicated in the Book of Odes, but with another pronunciation and meaning). *Kin:120 kin:120* (8) »tightly» is never followed by *tik* either. There are just a few isolated cases of it. No date of first occurrence is available for this word, nor for *man-61 man-61* »slowly» in sentence 9 either. This word is not very frequent in the Ts'üanshu, but it occurs very often in the present-day language. Chu Hi employs it both with and without the particle *tik*; in either case it functions as an adverb. *K'iap61 k'iap61* in sentence 10 occurs in Tu Fu's poems. Chu Hi rarely uses it. The example indicates that it may be followed by the particle *tik*.

These reduplicated adjectives never occur in an attributive position. It is, on the whole, exceptional that Chu Hi allows a reduplicated adjective to function as an attribute. One exception is, e. g., *siao:42 siao:42* »very little».

#### C. 11—13.

In the above sentences we find two synonymous nouns reduplicated. One might say that each component of a binome is reduplicated, but as Chu Hi does not use binomes like *shi-6 kien-9* or *t'ou;181 kien-9*, I refrain from using the term binome in this connection. *Shi-6 shi-6 wui93 wui93* (11) occurs very often indeed. *T'ou;181 t'ou;181 kien-9 kien-9* (11), and *shi-6 shi-6 kien-9 kien-9* (12) are rare, and *ling173 ling173 sui-112 sui-112* (13) is quite common. A plural sense is expressed by these four character groups. Joining two reduplicated nouns together like this in order to signify plural number is not very common in modern Mandarin.

#### D. 14—20.

In the first two sentences we find one simple adjective joined to a reduplicated one. Probably for the sake of rhythm the particle *tik* has been added. *Huot85 p'ot85 p'ot85 tik* »lively» (14) is a well-known expression which occurs in the commentary to Chung Yung in a quotation from Ch'eng Hao. Chu Hi uses it quite often either as an adverb or as a predicative, but not as an attribute. *Hok203 ts'ui-85 ts'ui-85 tik* (15) is an isolated case. Neither of these expressions occurs in present-day everyday language, but the first of them may be heard in polished speech. In sentences 16—20 two reduplicated adjectives are joined together. This is a very common feature today, but the combinations used in these sentences — so often recurring in Chu Hi's discourses — are not current any more. In analogous cases the modern language generally has the particle *tik*, which Chu Hi never has. The construction in sentences 17 and 18 with the modifier placed after the modified noun does not accord with modern usage. I have failed to find any dates of first occurrence for the four character combinations in the sentences under C and D, except for *huot85 p'ot85 p'ot85 tik*, for which Peiwen indicates as the earliest example the quotation from Ch'eng Hao, referred to above.

## E. 21.

This is an isolated case. Two verbs are reduplicated whereby a repetitive action is expressed. This construction, so common in the present-day language, was evidently not generally current in Sung time.

### § 2. *Tsī*.

*Tsī* is an extremely frequent word in the classical language. *Tsī* is hardly ever used as a free word in the colloquial language. As a bound word it is affixed to nouns. It may thus be called a noun-suffix. In this capacity it was originally a diminutive suffix retaining one of its earlier meanings »son, child«. *Tsī* was used as noun-suffix already in Han time in e. g. a word like *er;10 tsī<sup>1</sup>* »son«. *Tsī* most probably had its diminutive sense left at that time, but when we come down to T'ang time we find *tsī* affixed to quite a large number of nouns without having any meaning of smallness.<sup>2)</sup> Many of such nouns + *tsī* are among words with a high frequency in the present-day colloquial language, e. g. *chung:115 tsī<sup>1</sup>* »seed«, *jīt72 tsī<sup>1</sup>* »day« (cf. ex. 2—3 below). *Tsī* is still the most common noun-suffix if we consider the entire Mandarin-speaking area. Under the influence of Pekinese the suffix *er;10* — originally also a diminutive suffix which sometimes still expresses smallness — is gaining ground in other dialects too. *Tsī* and *er;10* are thus in many cases interchangeable. *Er;10* was used as a suffix before Chu Hi's time<sup>3)</sup>, but as it does not exist in his Mandarin we disregard this suffix here.

Chu Hi is quite familiar with *tsī* as a noun-suffix, although it would be an exaggeration to maintain that he makes frequent use of it. It is true that some of the nouns listed below occur again and again with the suffix *tsī*, but the total number of nouns taking this suffix is not very large: some 40 nouns altogether. Here follows a list of the nouns which in the Ts'uanshu occur with the suffix *tsī*, except those which, according to the *thesauri*, are dated before the sixth century. I have not been able to find a date of first occurrence for more than 10 of the 40 nouns below:

#### A. 1—10.

##### 1. *chok24 tsī* »table»:

40:39b chu:3 jen9 chī-122 pei75 *chok24 tsī shang-1*  
the host places the cup on the table.

##### 2. *chung:115 tsī* »seed»:

4:8b ju ts'ao:140 muk75 yu ko-118 *chung:115 tsī fang70 . . .*  
as e. g. the grass and trees, if there are only seeds, then . . .

<sup>1)</sup> According to quotations in the Peiwen.

<sup>2)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.* p. 12.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.*, note 1.

3. *jit72 tsii* »days»:

1:14b k'ung:61 tu-53 liao *jit72 tsii*  
I fear it is to pass the days.

4. *kuo:140 tsii* »fruit»:

1:15b ju ch'it30 *kuo:140 tsii* siang109 si-9  
it is like eating fruits.

5. *shan-63 tsii* »fan»:

49:12b p'i-149 ju *shan-63 tsii* chi:30 shi yit1 ko-118 *shan-63 tsii*  
e. g. a fan, it is just one fan.

6. *shi94 tsii* »lion»:

4:5b sui-162 put kien-147 *shi94 tsii* liao  
then he did not see any lion.

7. *k'iang130 tsii* »breast»; »tune»:

- a. 44:4b Ch'eng tsii yen;149 sin61 yao tsai *k'iang130 tsii* li:145  
Ch'eng tsii said: Let your mind be in your breast.
- b. 33:26b jan hou-60 tso-9 yü:149 yen;149 k'ü-28 hop30 *k'iang130 tsii*  
then they write the poem so as to fit in with the tune.

8. *chap118 tsii* »document»:

35:17b ju Hui;31 ho;85 teng:118 *chap118 tsii*  
it is like the documents from Hui ho and the like.

9. *p'ai;91 tsii* »tablet»:

39:7a *p'ai;91 tsii* yik8 wu ting-40 chi-18  
the tablets had no definite order.

10. *yang-75 tsii* »way, pattern, type»:

51:9a pien-9 shi shi-6 t'ien37 tik *yang-75 tsii*  
it is the way of serving Heaven.

As has been mentioned before, the words *chung:115 tsii* (2) and *jit72 tsii* (3) are to be found in the T'ang time literature. The same pertains to *chok75 tsii* (1), *kuo:140 tsii* (4), *shan-63 tsii* (5), and *shi94 tsii* (6), according to the *thesauri*. There are some stray instances of *chok75 tsii* (written without radical 75), *chung:115 tsii* and *shi94 tsii* in the Ts'uanshu. *Jit74 tsii* occurs again and again, and *kuo:140 tsii* and *shan-63 tsii* are quite often used by Chu Hi in his illustrations. These six words just discussed are all current in modern Mandarin. The word *k'iang130 tsii* (7) can be traced back to the 11th century. Chu Hi's master Ch'eng Hao often used it in his discourses. In the Ts'uanshu we find this word in quotations from Ch'eng Hao as well as in Chu Hi's sayings. It is used in the sense »breast», figuratively, (7 a), and it also means »tune» (7b). In

this latter sense *k'iang*130 does not take the suffix *tsi* in the modern language. In the former sense *k'iang*130 *tsi* is an unusual word today. The word *chap*118 *tsi* (8) is an isolated case in the Ts'üanshu; it does not belong to the present-day colloquial language. The Sung annals are indicated as the earliest find-place for this word. *P'ai*;91 *tsi* in sentence 9 is often heard today. It has many meanings, the most common of which are »sign-board, trade-mark». It is met with just a few times in the Ts'üanshu in the sense of »tablet». The Yüan annals are said to offer the first example. *Yang*-75 is the word which most often takes the suffix *tsi* in Chu Hi's language (10). Chu Hi's Yülei is indicated by the Kanwa as being the earliest find-place for the word *yang*-75 *tsi*.

#### B. 11—40.

##### 11. *chen*167 *tsi* »needle»:

- 20:49b chī:30 ju *chen*167 *tsi* lüek102 t'iao64 sie7 hüet143 ch'ut17 ye.  
it is just as when we open up (a boil) with a needle so that blood  
comes out . . .

##### 12. *chuang*75 *tsi* »pillar»:

- 50:5b pien-9 shī chung2 sin61 *chuang*75 *tsi*  
it is like the pillar in the middle.

##### 13. *ch'e*159 (*kü*159) *tsi* »carriage»:

- 1:19a cheng-77 ju t'ui64 *ku*159 *tsi* siang109 sī-9  
it is just like pushing a carriage.

##### 14. *ch'eng*;32 *tsi* »city»:

- 6:30a che-162 *ch'eng*;32 *tsi* yi:49 shī *tsi*-132 kia40 tik liao  
this city is already mine.

##### 15. *ch'eng*-115 *tsi* »steelyard»:

- 13:18b tsek ju *ch'eng*-115 *tsi* ch'eng115 wut93 siang109 sī-9  
it is like weighing things with a steelyard.

##### 16. *hiap*22 *tsi* »case, box, casket»:

- 2:19a fang-66 tsai mu75 *hiap*22 *tsi* li:145 mien-176  
and put it in a »mu» box (mu75 here = a kind of wood).

##### 17. *hien*-184 *tsi* »stuffing for pastry»:

- 45:2a sin61 tsiang41 sing-61 tso-9 *hien*-184 *tsi* mu75 yang-75  
the Mind holds Nature within it like the stuffing in cakes.

##### 18. *hok*75 *tsi* »kernel»:

- 9:23a put kuan:118 li:145 mien-176 *hok*75 *tsi*  
and not care about the kernel in it.

19. *huan;96 tsü* »ring»:  
 40:6b ku:30 jen9 k'üek26 shi *huan;96 tsü* ting-167 kok177 tai-50  
 the ancients had a ring nailed to the leather girdle.
20. *kie-102 tsü* »division»:  
 47:5a k'üek26 tsü-132 jen9:7 chung2 fen18 si-31 *kie-102 tsü*  
 »jen» (sympathy) branches out into four divisions.
21. *king-167 tsü* »mirror»:  
 44:5a tsin-108 sin61 ju ming72 king-167 . . . chi:30 k'an-109 *king-167 tsü*  
 the Mind that is perfected is like a clear mirror - - - if you look into  
 a mirror.
22. *k'o116 tsü* »nest»:  
 54:20a k'üek26 shi yit1 t'uan;31 jen9 yük76 *k'o116 tsü*  
 it truly is a nest of human desires.
23. *k'ok79 tsü* »shell»:  
 30:34a k'üek26 put chi:30 shi k'ung116 *k'ok79 tsü* tso-9 tek  
 it is not merely made of an empty shell.
24. *ku:188 tsü* »frame, bone»:  
 a. 42:9b tao-162 chi *ku:188 tsü* pien-9 shi sing-61  
 nature is the frame of Tao.  
 b. 46:2b ts'ie:1 ju shan-63 tsü yu ping:75 yu *ku:188 tsü*  
 it is like a fan which has the handle and the bones.
25. *lun159 tsü* »wheel»:  
 14:16a ts'ai;120 chok shou:64 t'ui64 tung-19 *lun159 tsü*  
 when one has started to push the wheel.
26. *nao:130 tsü* »brain»:  
 11:10b shang-1 mien-176 yu ko-118 *nao:130 tsü*  
 there is a brain above.
27. *pan:91 tsü* »board»:  
 39:6a Wen85 kung12 yung-101 ta-37 *pan:91 tsü*  
 Mr. Wen used a large board.
28. *pen:75 tsü* »copy; foundation»:  
 a. 6:67a tan-9 nan172 tek *pen:75 tsü*  
 but it is hard to get a copy.  
 b. 3:14a ts'ie:1 sül81 sien10 tso-9 liao *pen:75 tsü*  
 one must first make the foundation.
29. *p'an;108 tsü* »disc»:  
 50:5b sui172 ye sui;170 na-163 *p'an-108 tsü* chuan:159  
 even if it is turned along with the disc.

30. *p'i;107 tsī* »skin»:

8:14a wai-36 mien-176 sie7 *p'i;107 tsī* hao:38  
the outer skin is good.

31. *sun:118 tsī* »tenon»:

50:5b ju na-163 men169 *sun:118 tsī* yang-75  
it is like that tenon.

32. *tan-57 tsī* »cross-bow»:

51:31a yu-29 tso-9 ko-118 *tan-57 tsī* ch'ut17 lai9  
and make a cross-bow.

33. *tan-64 tsī* »burden»:

15:51a fang70 chen109 ko-118 chü111 tek che-162 *tan-64 tsī* chung-166  
then one can really know that the burden is heavy.

34. *tien:203 tsī* »spot»:

42:26b chung2 kien169 chi:30 yu yit1 liang:11 *tien:203 tsī* kuang10  
in the centre there are one or two spots of light.

35. *t'ou;181 tsī* »head»:

8:23b chi:30 si-9 ko-118 chuang75 *t'ou;181 tsī*  
it is like the head of a stake.

36. *ts'ek13 tsī* »register, book»:

6:5a k'an-109 t'a9 *ts'ek13 tsī* shang-1 ku:30 jen9 yi-61 si-61 ju ho  
and find out from his books what the ancients meant.

37. *t'u;31 tsī* »diagram»:

28:49a jok hua-102 *t'u;31 tsī* k'i:156  
if we draw a diagram.

38. *tuan-79 tsī* »section»:

46:2b ts'ai;120 kien-147 fen18 *tuan-79 tsī*  
when you have divided a thing into sections . . .

39. *wuk44 tsī* »room»:

14:15b hüek39 che sü181 shik149 tek *wuk44 tsī* shi wo:62 tik  
the learner must recognize: »the room is mine».

40. *ying:59 tsī* »shadow»:

6:29b jok chi:30 yü wai-36 mien-176 chok64 mok64 ko-118 *ying:59 tsī*  
shuot149  
if we just grasp at a shadow.

*Chen167 tsī* (11) is an isolated case. Today the word *chen167* is not followed by the suffix *tsī*. *Chuang75 tsī* (12) is also an isolated case in the Ts'üanshu. *Chuang75*

occurs more often without *tsi*. *Chuang*75 *tsi* is current in the modern language. The same holds good for *kü*159 *tsi* (13) (today pronounced ch'e *tsi*). This word occurs several times. There is only one instance of *ch'eng*;32 *tsi* (14). In modern Mandarin *ch'eng*;32 forms part of binomes but it does not take the suffix *tsi*. Only a few cases of *ch'eng*-115 *tsi* (15) and *hiap*22 *tsi* (16) are to be found. They are often heard in the present-day colloquial language. *Hien*-184 *tsi* (17) is an isolated case. *Tsi* is not adjoined to *hien*-184 in modern Mandarin. The word *hok*75 *tsi*(18) is used in the same sense today. Chu Hi employs it now and then. The word *huan*;96 does not take *tsi* today. Chu Hi uses it as a rule without *tsi*, *huan*;96 *tsi* in sentence 19 is an exception. *Kie*-102 *tsi* (20) is also exceptional. It does not exist today. *King*-167 *tsi* is a common word today, and so it is in Chu Hi's language. In the first part of example 21 we find *ming*72 *king*-167 »clear mirror». Chu Hi thus uses *king*-167 both with and without the suffix *tsi*. The general tendency in Chu Hi's colloquial language is that when a noun which otherwise takes *tsi* is preceded by an attribute denoting quality, then *tsi* is not added. *K'o*116 *tsi* (22) is an isolated case. It is not heard today. *K'ok*79 *tsi* (23) we meet with a couple of times. The simple *k'ok*79, on the other hand, is often met with. *K'ok*75 *tsi* is seldom heard nowadays.

The word *ku*:188 *tsi* (24) is often used by Chu Hi as well as by his forerunners. It occurs both in a figurative sense (24a) and in its proper sense (24b). *Ku*:188 *tsi* »bone» is now obsolete, the suffix *tsi* having been replaced by another common noun-suffix, *t'ou*;181 »head». *Lun*159 *tsi* (25) occurs a few times only. It is common today. *Nao*:130 *tsi* (26), which is quite frequent in modern Mandarin, is rare in Chu Hi's language. The same pertains to *pan*:91 *tsi* in sentence 27. *Pen*:75 occurs in different meanings in Chu Hi's colloquial as well as today. Quite often he adds *tsi* to *pen*:75 when it means »copy» as in 28a, or »foundation» as in 28b. *Pen*:75 *tsi* is not used in this latter sense in modern Mandarin. Some stray cases of *p'an*;108 *tsi* (29) are to be found. It evidently means »disc». *P'an*;108 *tsi* is a common word today, but it is not used in the sense in which Chu Hi applies it. *P'i*;107 *tsi* (30) is common in the present-day language but rare in Chu Hi's. *Sun*:118 *tsi* (31) occurs only once, and is not used in the modern language. *Tan*-57 *tsi*(32) is also an isolated case. It obviously means »cross-bow». The sense in which *tan*-57 *tsi* is most often used today is »bullet». *Tan*-64 *tsi* (33) is equally a rare word in the Ts'uanshu, but in the present-day language it is common. The same is true of *tien*:203 *tsi* (34). In sentence 35 we find one of the few cases in which a noun followed by *tsi* is modified by another noun. *T'ou*;181 *tsi* is an isolated case. In modern northern Mandarin *t'ou*;181 takes *er*;10, not *tsi*. *Ts'ek*13 *tsi* (36) is quite a common word in Chu Hi's discourses. It exists in modern colloquial. *T'u*;31 (37) is a common word in the writings of the Neo-Confucianists. Chu Hi generally employs it without the suffix *tsi*. *T'u*;31 *tsi* in sentence 37 is exceptional. *T'u*;31 does not take *tsi* in modern Mandarin. *Tuan*-79 *tsi* (38) is met with now and then in the Yülei. But Chu Hi generally uses *tuan*-70 without *tsi*, which accords with modern usage,

*Wuk44 tsī* (39) is a very common word in the modern *pai hua*, but it is rare in the Ts'üanshu. *Ying:59 tsī* (40) appears a few times in the Yülei. It is not current in northern Mandarin.

\* \* \*

Upon looking through the nouns discussed above, we find that the majority of them are concrete. It has been stated about most of them that they occur sporadically. Those which are relatively frequent are either abstract, e. g. *jit72 tsī* (3), and *yang-75 tsī* (10), or are used figuratively, e. g. *k'iang130 tsī* (7), and *ku:188 tsī* (24). There are two concrete words, *pen:75 tsī* and *ts'ek13 tsī* which are fairly frequent. The suffix *tsī* is in the modern colloquial much more often affixed to concrete nouns than to abstract ones. In his philosophical discussions Chu Hi employs abstract nouns to a much greater extent than concrete ones. It is not surprising, then, that the number of nouns taking the suffix *tsī* is as insignificant as it is in the Ts'üanshu. On the other hand, we have found that Chu Hi adds *tsī* to nouns which do not have any suffix in the modern colloquial language: *ch'eng;32* (14) and *kie-102* (20). Quite a few of the nouns enumerated above take the suffix *er;10* in northern Mandarin.

### § 3. *T'ou;181*.

Another common noun-suffix in the present-day colloquial language is the word *t'ou;181* »head». In the T'ang time poetry sporadic instances may be found of *t'ou;181* being added to a noun. In the Buddhist texts examined by Maspero it also occurs, but more seldom than *tsī*.<sup>1)</sup> *T'ou;181* occurs as a suffix in the Ts'üanshu. In the eight sentences below we find some nouns, in one case a verb, to which Chu Hi adds this suffix:

1. *shik112 t'ou;181* »stone»:

47:5a k'an-109 *shik112 t'ou;181* shang-1 ju ho chung-115 wut93 shi-6 ch'ut17  
how can one plant on a stone (and make it grow)?

2. *yuan;85 t'ou;181* »source»:

20:18a *yuan;85 t'ou;181* pien-9 shi na-163 t'ien37 chi ming72 ming-30  
the source is the will of Heaven.

3. *ti-32 t'ou;181* »destination»:

28:25a pien-9 shi chi-133 na-163 *ti-32 t'ou;181* liao  
then you have reached your destination.

4. *hua-149 t'ou;181* »subject»:

20:41b pien-9 piet18 huan-64 yit1 ko-118 *hua-149 t'ou;181*  
and change into another subject.

<sup>1)</sup> Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

5. *lu-157 t'ou;181* »beginning of the road»:  
7:3b chī:30 shī chī:64 ko-118 *lu-157 t'ou;181*  
it just refers to the beginning of the road.
6. *k'i:156 t'ou;181* »beginning»:  
28:56b k'üek26 tao-18 na-163 *k'i:156 t'ou;181* ch'u-141  
but have come to the point of beginning.
7. *li:145 t'ou;181* »inside»:  
9:23a k'ung:61 *li:145 t'ou;181* piet18 yu to36 tsī85 wei-30 tsai  
there may be some other flavour in it.
8. *pik64 ch'u18 t'ou;181* »beginning»:  
1:2b tuk94 tsiang41 che-162 ko-118 king-66 tso-9 *pik64 ch'u18 t'ou;181*  
but they all allow reverence to be the beginning.

When examining the above sentences we find that the word *t'ou;181* does not fulfil the same purpose in all the cases. But it is evident that *t'ou;181*, unlike *tsī*, has retained its original sense of »head», either in the proper or in a figurative sense of that word. In sentences 1 and 2, *shīk112 t'ou;181* and *yūan;85 t'ou;181* have the same meaning as the simple words *shīk112* »stone» and *yūan;181* »source». They are, according to the Peiwen, known to have existed in T'ang time. *Shīk112 t'ou;181* is current today. In sentences 3 and 4 the addition of *t'ou;181* implies a new sense. *Ti-32 t'ou;181* »destination» as well as *hua-149 t'ou;181* »subject» belong to the present-day colloquial language. The former is met with in the T'ang shu, according to the Peiwen, and the latter is also dated by the Ts'ī *yūan* and the Kanwa to Sung time. In sentence 5 *t'ou;181* seems to be the principal noun, to which *lu-157* »road» is in an attributive position. *Lu-157 t'ou;181* is used today. I have not succeeded in finding a date of first occurrence for this word. *K'i:156 t'ou;181* in sentence 6 is often employed in modern Mandarin, in the sense of beginning. Here *t'ou;181* may be said to make the verb *k'i:156* »to rise» into a noun. No date of first occurrence is available for this word. The same pertains to the word *li:145 t'ou;181* in example 7. *Li:145 t'ou;181* is very common today. It is an isolated case in the Ts'üanshu. Chu Hi uses *li:145 mien-176* (cf. X:4). The combination *pik64 ch'u18 t'ou;181* »beginning» in sentence 8 is not in use today. It is also an isolated case in Chu Hi's colloquial language. I have not found this word in the *thesauri*. The six first cases discussed here occur repeatedly in the Ts'üanshu.

From the above examples it can be seen that when Chu Hi adds *t'ou;181* to a word the original sense of *t'ou;181*, »head», or some related sense (end, termination) is still felt. The examples discussed above (except example 8) might be treated as binomes, but since *t'ou;181* is added to so many and varied words as to form a real group, it is better to classify it as a noun-suffix.

#### § 4. *Ch'u-141.*

The word *ch'u-141* means »place«. Besides being a noun it is in modern Mandarin an auxiliary or suffix which, when added to adjectives or verbs, turns them into abstract nouns: *nan*172 *ch'u-141* »difficulty», *yi*;103 *ch'u-141* »doubt». As was the case with *t'ou*;181, the original meaning of *ch'u-141* is discernible when it functions as a noun-suffix. Chu Hi often uses *ch'u-141* in the sense of »passage» (in a book or a demonstration, see 15 below), but sometimes it seems to have the same function in Chu Hi's language as it has today. It is in many cases hard to decide whether *ch'u-141* is a noun meaning »passage, point» etc., or whether it is a noun-forming suffix. The following sentences will illustrate this feature in Chu Hi's colloquial language:

1. *hao*:38 *ch'u-141* »merit, good point, advantage»:

18:10b *pien*-9 *sü181* *yu sie*7 *hao*:38 *ch'u-141*  
there must be some merits (good points).

2. *shii* *ch'u-141* »something right, something definite»:

46:15b *meit* *ko*-118 *shii* *ch'u-141*  
there is nothing definite.

3. *put shii ch'u-141* »something wrong, fault»:

13:12b *huan*;162 *chi*:30 *yao k'iu*;85 *Tsi Lu put shii ch'u-141*  
or do they just want to find fault with Tsü Lu?

4. *kuo*-162 *ch'u-141* »fault»:

53:43a *ye shii Yi Ch'uan* *yu sie*7 *kuo*-162 *ch'u-141*  
it may also be that Yi Ch'uan had some faults (in his writings).

5. *ts'ok*167 *ch'u-141* »fault»:

8:25a *put shii tao*-162 *li*:96 *yu ts'ok*167 *ch'u-141 shii*;72  
if it is not the principles that have faults (are wrong) . . .

6. *yi*;103 *ch'u-141* »doubt»:

1:7a *siao*:42 *yu yi*;103 *ch'u-141* *tsik*26 *keng*-73 *sü*61 *sok*120  
if one has any doubts then one should think again.

7. *yung*-101 *ch'u-141* »usefulness»:

6:49a *tsü*-132 *yu yung*-101 *ch'u-141*  
it naturally has usefulness.

8. *yün*-162 *yung*-101 *ch'u-141* »operation»:

45:7b *ts'ing*;61 *shii liu*85 *ch'ut*17 *yün*-162 *yung*-101 *ch'u-141*  
the feelings are their outflow and operation.

9. *p'ien*;9 *yi*;40 *ch'u-141* »advantage»:

13:22a *shi t'a*9 *tsü*-132 *jan chan*-25 *p'ien*;9 *yi*;40 *ch'u-141*  
he himself took advantage.

10. *ming*72 *ch'u-141* »bright point, merit»:  
7:4a jen9 kie106 yu ko-118 *ming*72 *ch'u-141*  
people all have their bright points.
11. *tao-18 ch'u-141* »everywhere»:  
9:29a kok75 wut93 sül81 shi *tao-18 ch'u-141* k'iu;85  
the investigation of matters must be aimed at everywhere.
12. *tsin-162 pu-77 ch'u-141* »progress»:  
7:4a neng ju ts'i pien-9 yu *tsin-162 pu-77 ch'u-141*  
if we can be like this, then there will be progress.
13. *chao-86 kuan:118 put tao-18 ch'u-141* »something uncontrollable»  
18:17a shi *chao-86 kuan:118 put tao-18 ch'u-141*  
it is something we cannot control.
14. *put man:85 jen9 yi-61 ch'u-141* »unsatisfactory points»:  
35:1b hao:38 *ch'u-141* to-36 yik8 yu *put man:85 jen9 yi-61 ch'u-141*  
the good points are in the majority, but there are also unsatisfactory ones.
15. *yao kin:120 ch'u-141* »important passage»:  
10:22b ts'i shi tsui-73 *yao kin:120 ch'u-141*  
this is a most important passage.

It is evident that *ch'u-141* in some of the above sentences could be treated as an independent noun, being modified by a preceding attribute. But in the majority of the sentences *ch'u-141* is clearly a form word which is affixed to the preceding word so as to form an abstract noun, i. e. *ch'u-141* has a function similar to that in the present-day language. I have not succeeded in finding any first find-places for the above *ch'u-141* phrases.

## CHAPTER IV

### AUXILIARIES PLACED AFTER THE PRINCIPAL VERB

#### § 1. *Liao.*

As a principal verb *liao* means »to finish, to complete» or »to know, to comprehend», and in this capacity it often forms part of compound verbs like *liao kie*:<sup>148</sup> »to comprehend», *liao tang*-102 »to settle», *liao tek* »to understand». In Chu Hi's language *liao* occurs as a principal verb, alone as well as part of a compound. In the course of time *liao* has become an auxiliary, and its primary function in modern Mandarin is that of an auxiliary of the perfective aspect. The meaning »to finish, to complete» has contributed to such a development. *Liao* has often been said to be a sign of the past tense, but it does not bring out any time element, and consequently it can be used in all tenses.

*Liao* is a very frequent word in modern Chinese. We know that *liao* was used as an auxiliary already in T'ang time. It is very difficult to form an idea as to how frequent it was then, as our knowledge of the *pai hua* of that time is so scanty. H. Maspero<sup>1)</sup> says apropos of *liao*: »Il y a de nombreux exemples du passé formé par l'emploi de *liao*; comme aujourd'hui il peut se placer, soit immédiatement après le verbe, soit après les compléments, à la fin de la phrase».

*Liao* is one of the most common colloquial features in the Ts'uanshu. There are more than 1,500 instances of *liao* in this work. This is of course quite a modest figure if we compare it with the total number of pages, more than 5,500. But if we take into account the sayings of Chu Hi only — and it is in these that we find the majority of the cases of *liao* — we may state that *liao* is a very common element in Chu Hi's colloquial language. Occasionally a *liao* is to be found in a quotation of some Sung philosopher or in a question raised by some of Chu Hi's disciples.

The following sentences with *liao* are all from the Yülei. This does not mean that *liao* does not occur in the Wentsi; it is easy to find instances of *liao* there as well. I have divided the excerpted sentences into two main sections according to the position of *liao*. In the sentences of section I, *liao* follows immediately after the principal verb, and in those of section II it is at the end of the clause and preceded by a word other than the principal verb. I believe the sentences below will illustrate the various functions which *liao* had in Chu Hi's colloquial language:

<sup>1)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

## Section I.

### A. 1—16

1. 1:1b ta-37 kang120 tu163 *huek39 liao*  
all the chief points have been studied.
2. 5:1b pien-9 tu163 *huai-32 liao*  
then it is all spoiled.
3. 6:69a k'o sik61 Tsü yüek120 sii:78 *liao*  
it is a pity that Tsü-yüek should die.
4. 10:26b yi:49 fen18 ming72 *shuot149 liao*  
it has already been clearly explained.
5. 14:10b sheng-128 jen9 yi:49 shi *shuot149 liao*  
the holy man (Confucius) has already said it.
6. 15:32b yit1 *tuan-69 liao* pien-9 put k'o tsiep64  
once you have interrupted it, then you cannot take it up again.
7. 19:14a yit1 *jan:75 liao* pien-9 t'ui-162 put tek  
once you have dyed it, then you cannot take away (the new colour).
8. 18:37a p'i-149 ju yit1 wut93 pen:75 wan;40 tsü-132 kia40 *ta:64 p'o-112 liao*, pien-9 shi hui:79  
e. g. if a thing is originally complete, and you break it, then it is destroyed.
9. 3:26a kien-147 tek put shi pien-9 *fan124 liao*.  
when we realize that it is wrong, then we turn away.
10. 19:23a kuo-162 ki:52 jit72 yu-29 *wang-61 liao*  
after a few days he has forgotten it.
11. 45:6b yu-29 ju fuk74 yüek140; ch'it30 *liao* hui-73 chi-85 ping-104  
or if we take medicine; when we have eaten it, it can cure the illness.
12. 37:1b put chü111 ho tai-9 ho nien51 *shit37 liao*  
I do not know in which generation or in which year they were lost.
13. 6:7a *tuk149 liao* yu-29 sii61, sii61 *liao* yu-29 tuk149  
having read we think again, having thought we read again.
14. 3:2b yu-29 k'üek26 put chü111 put küek147 tsü-132 k'ü-28 *tso-9 liao*  
and yet, unintentionally, they go and do it (what is wrong).
15. 25:31a ju jen9 tso-9 shi-6 weih tso-9 tek yit1 pan-24 pien-9 *k'i-75 liao*  
as if some one performs a work and when he has not done half of it,  
he leaves it.
16. 17:33b man-61 man-61 tik *siao85 mo112 liao*  
it melts away slowly.

### B. 17—19.

17. 55:2a mou:75 p'ing;51 sheng100 ye *fei-154 liao* sie7 tsing119 shen;113  
I have also during my whole life expended effort on it (the Yiking).

18. 17:12b ni:9 jok put ts'ung;60 t'a9, t'a9 pien-9 *shat79 liao* ni:9  
if you do not obey him, then he will kill you.
19. 46:3b jok *li172 liao* jen9:7 yi-123 pien-9 shi wu tao-162 li:96 liao.  
if we leave benevolence and righteousness, then we have no principles.

*C. 20—21.*

20. 16:5a siang:61 shi pei-145 men169 jen9 ts'ok167 *ki-149 liao*  
I think it has been copied falsely by the disciples.
21. 47:11a chi:30 pei-145 sil15 yi-61 *kok170 liao*  
but is cut off by selfishness.

*D. 22—23.*

22. 15:9a put yao *shit37 liao*  
do not lose it!
23. 55:4a put yao *wang-61 liao*  
do not forget it!

*E. 24—25.*

24. 11:26a wai-36 mien-176 siang109 si-9 er li:145 mien-176 ta-37 *ch'a48 liao*  
outwardly they seem alike, but inwardly they differ greatly.
25. 20:80a Yang;75 Mok32 chi:30 shi *ch'a48 liao* sie7 tsii  
Yang and Mo differ just a little.

*F. 26—28.*

26. 6:12b sü181 *fuk74 liao* yu-29 fuk74  
you must apply and apply again.
27. 7:24a sien10 sü181 *k'u.28 liao* hü:149 to36 ok61 ken75  
first you must take away a lot of foul roots.
28. 13:30b tsii-132 shi wu k'o *kiu-66 liao*  
it is natural that there is no way of rescuing him.

*A. 1—16.*

The predicates in these sentences are all in the perfective aspect. No object follows after the verb + *liao*. In sentences with more than one clause the perfective action is expressed either in the main clause or in the dependent clause, but not in both. When Chu Hi begins a clause with the conjunction *pien-9*, the verb may have *liao* or not. A construction like sentence 2 is very common indeed. But if there is a *liao* in the clause preceding the clause introduced by *pien-9*, then as a rule the latter does not have any *liao*. A construction like that in sentence 13 is very often met with in modern Mandarin.

**B. 17—19.**

Here the verb + *liao* is followed by an object. This is in accord with the modern language. It is, however, unusual for the object to be placed after the verb + *liao* in Chu Hi's colloquial language.

**C. 20—21.**

When Chu Hi employs the auxiliary *pei-145* of the passive voice he generally adds *liao* to the predicate. More examples of this kind will be furnished when dealing with *pei-145* in chapter V:1.

**D. 22—23.**

These two sentences, which are in the imperative, occur again and again in Chu Hi's language. They are in perfect accord with the present-day colloquial language.

**E. 24—25.**

Here *liao* is not the auxiliary of the perfective aspect, but the idea of something »finished, achieved» is still inherent in it, since it is a particle expressing a definite subjective opinion. In that capacity it is placed generally at the end of the clause. Chu Hi very often uses the phrase *ch'a48 liao*. It either means »to differ» as it does in the above sentences, or »mistaken».

**F. 26—28.**

Sentences like 26 and 27 are very common in Chu Hi's language. The use of *sü181* or *sü181 shi* + the verb in the perfective aspect does not agree with modern usage. The *liao* in sentence 28 may be said to express potentiality. This function of *liao* is exceptional in Chu Hi's language.

**Section II.**

**A. 29—36.**

29. 1:1b yi:49 tsü-132 *chi111* hü:149 to36 shi-6 *liao*.  
they already know a lot of things.
30. 1:12a yi:49 shi *jup11* sheng-128 hien;154 lu-157 *liao*  
he has already entered upon the path of a saint.
31. 2:16b tan-9 *shuot149* t'ai-37 to36 *liao*  
but we have said too much.
32. 3:30a *tsik115* tek to36 *liao*  
when he has accumulated a great deal.
33. 4:5b sui-162 put *kien-147* shi94 tsü *liao*  
then he did not see any lion.
34. 4:25b kin9 *tso-9* hao:38 tik shi-6 *liao*  
now you have done a good thing.

35. 6:64b *shuot149 tek t'ai-37 hao:38 liao*  
he has said it too well.
36. 8:13a *fen18 piet18 shan-30 ok61 liao*  
After having distinguished good and evil.

B. 37—48.

37. 11:30a *pien-9 meit yi-61 si-61 liao*.  
that has no sense.
38. 40:1b *ye put ju ts'i liao*  
it is not like this either.
39. 20:71a *ta-37 tuan-79 fei-154 jen9 lik liao*  
it is for the most part to waste human strength.
40. 23:6a *yik8 shi t'a9 kien-147 tek wan-140 wut93 kie106 pei-9 yü wo:62 liao*  
it means that he recognizes that all things are already complete in us.
41. 24:12a *jok chi:30 shuot149 ts'un;39 t'ien37 li:96 liao*  
if you just speak of preserving the heavenly principle . . .
42. 23:14a *chi:30 na-163 lan85 pien-9 shi na-163 pen:75 liao*  
the foaming waves presuppose (are) the source.
43. 25:44b *yi:49 shi ko-118 king-66 sin-9 tik jen9 liao*  
then he is already a reverent and truthful man.
44. 31:21b *che-162 sing-61 yuan;10 shi hao:38 liao*  
nature is originally good.
45. 34:19b *si61 ye tsai che-162 li:145 liao*  
the thinking is also here.
46. 18:36b *shu-61 shi;72 chung61 tsai li:145 mien-176 liao*  
when reciprocity is at hand, loyalty is there.
47. 44:5a *pien-9 si-9 sing-61 wai-36 piet18 yu yit1 ko-118 chil11 küek147 liao*  
it assumes another consciousness outside Nature.
48. 45:19a *put ts'ung;60 t'ien37 li:96 ch'ut17 lai9 pien-9 shi ch'u17 wai-36 tik liao*  
if it does not proceed from the heavenly principle it must come from outside.

C. 49—51.

49. 2:12b *ye sül81 shi tso-9 yit1 kien-9 liao*  
still he must do one thing.
50. 10:24b *sül81 shi sien10 yu hü:149 to36 liao*  
he must first have a great deal (of knowledge).
51. 32:23b *neng k'ung;116 li:96 tsin-108 sing-61 liao, fang70 . . . .*  
if we can penetrate the principles and develop our nature, then . . .

A. 29—36.

When dealing with the preceding section we saw that the majority of the sentences did not have any object or other complement placed after the verb + *liao*. The

exceptions were sentences 17—19, 25, and 27. From cases 29—36 it may be inferred that, when the clause has an object, Chu Hi prefers to insert this between the principal verb and *liaο*. It is evident that an achieved result or a completed action is expressed in all these sentences. The modern language would either have the *liaο* immediately after the verb or in some cases have two *liaο*, one functioning as an auxiliary of the perfective aspect affixed to the principal verb, and the other concluding the clause. It has been said before that Chu Hi does not as a rule use *liaο* twice in the same sentence (cf. I:A). Still less does he so in the same clause. On the other hand, he does not object to using *tek*, the auxiliary of the resultative aspect, immediately after the verb, and *liaο* at the end of the clause (32 and 35). Sentence 35, which is met with again and again, is very modern in its garb, whereas sentence 33 diverges from the modern language in being negated with *put*. We shall revert to this when dealing with *meit* in chapter XI:2.

#### B. 37—48.

Here *liaο* expresses a subjective opinion or something definite rather than the perfective aspect, just as in sentences 24 and 25 above. It is interesting to note that the predicate is in many cases the copula *shü* (42—44), or that, in the clauses with *tsai* (45, 46), there is no principal verb, cf. chapter X:2 sentences 2—5. In the second clause of sentence 40 Chu Hi quotes Mencius, but he has substituted the final particle *yih* by *liaο*. The particle *yih* is used to express a subjective opinion in the literary language.

#### C. 49—51.

Here again *liaο* brings out a subjective opinion. We saw that in sentences 26—28 the verb + the perfective *liaο* was preceded by another auxiliary verb, such as *sü181*, *k'o*. This is contrary to modern usage. But when the particle *liaο* terminates the clause, auxiliaries like *k'o*, *neng* may precede the verb. In this respect sentences 49—51 are in accord with the modern language. In sentence 47 under B, and in sentence 50 the principal verb is *yu*. Chu Hi never allows the perfective *liaο* to follow directly after this verb. In the present-day language one now and then comes across sentences in which *yu* is in the perfective aspect.

\* \* \*

Many of the sentences just dealt with are quite modern in their structure, and I believe that quite a few of them may be understood when read aloud even today, provided that the listener is familiar with the complicated subject-matter. The various aspects in Chinese tend to be more often expressed with simple verbs than with compound ones. In his paper on the aspects in Chinese, J. Průšek<sup>1)</sup> says:

<sup>1)</sup> J. Průšek, Quelques remarques sur les aspects en chinois. Archiv Orientální 18, 1950, p. 417.

»Nous nous contenterons donc de constater que la particule aspective est beaucoup plus fréquente dans le cas des verbes simples que dans celui des composés». This tendency is still more pronounced in Chu Hi's colloquial language. Very few of the sentences discussed above have a compound verb (8, 16, 36).

We have seen that in accordance with the modern Mandarin Chu Hi uses *liaο*: 1. affixed to the principal verb to form the perfective aspect. 2. At the end of the clause to denote a subjective opinion. But the line of demarcation between these two functions is less clear than it is in the modern language. Thus we have seen that Chu Hi often places the object or some other complement between the verb and *liaο* when *liaο* obviously functions as the auxiliary of the perfective aspect.

## § 2. *Kuo-162.*

The word *kuo-162* often occurs in the Chou time texts. It has different meanings, the most common of which are »to pass, to transgress, a fault«. It has retained its old senses in binomes like *king120 kuo-162* »to pass through«, *ch'ao156 kuo-162* »to surpass«, *kuo-162 shit37* »an error«. But it has also dwindled into an auxiliary verb, which when added to another verb expresses the idea of »did or have done once before<sup>1)</sup>. It is thus justifiable to call it a sign of the past tense, as one way of expressing an action in the past is to add *kuo-162* to the principal verb. But it must be remembered that it may be used in other tenses as well. Very often it is interchangeable with the auxiliary *liaο*. *Kuo-162* must follow immediately after the principal verb, the only word that may be inserted being the negative *put* (cf. § 10). Consequently it cannot function like the phrase particle *liaο*. *Kuo-162* is quite frequent as a principal verb or as a component of a binome in the modern *pai hua*, but as an auxiliary of the perfective aspect it is by no means so frequent as *liaο*.

*Kuo-162* as an auxiliary of the perfective aspect is no doubt more recent than *liaο*. H. Maspero does not mention it in his paper on the Buddhistic T'ang texts. It is not a very characteristic feature of Chu Hi's language, yet it is sufficiently frequent to deserve our attention.

Here follow a few sentences illustrating the philosopher's use of this auxiliary:

### A. 1—3.

1. 6:5b jok chi:30 jen-61 ta-37 kang120 *k'an-109 kuo-162*  
if just the chief points have been read.
2. 35:14b chi:30 ts'i *tuk149 kuo-162 pien-9 tek*  
when you have read this, then it will do.
3. 6:2b jok chi:30 jen-61 tik teng:118 hien;169 *k'an-109 kuo-162 liaο*  
if one has just carelessly read like this.

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Y. R. Chao, *Mandarin Primer*, Cambridge, 1948, p. 138.

**B. 4.**

4. 18:31a wu yit1 shi6 put li:96 hui-73 kuo-162  
there was nothing that he did not understand.

**C. 5—8.**

5. 1:10b put k'o fang-66 kuo-162 sie7 tsii  
he must not discard anything.  
6. 19:24b pok24 hüek39 shi tu163 yao li:96 hui-73 kuo-162  
extensive learning, that is to wish to understand everything.  
7. 22:44b chi:30 shi yao shi6 shi6 king120 lik77 kuo-162  
it is just that one must experience everything.  
8. 38:5a che-162 su181 shi yit1 ts'i;210 tu163 cheng:66 tun-181 kuo-162  
this must be arranged all at once.

**A. 1—3.**

In these sentences the principal verb + *kuo-162* expresses a completed action in the past. In example 3 *kuo-162* is followed by the particle *liao*, which accords with modern usage. In the preceding paragraph it was pointed out that generally Chu Hi does not allow any object or any other complement to come after the verb + *liao*. The verb + *kuo-162* is also, as a rule, placed at the end of the clause.

**B. 4.**

Here the perfective verb *li:96 hui-73 kuo-162* is negated with *put*. This is contrary to modern usage. Modern negative sentences with the verb in the perfective aspect always have *meit* or *meit yu*. Chu Hi does not object to using *put* in the perfective aspect, although he occasionally employs *meit*, never *meit yu*. This phenomenon will however be discussed in chapter XI:2.

**C. 5—8.**

In these sentences the verb + *kuo-162* is preceded by an auxiliary verb: *k'o*, *yao*, *sü181 shi*.

\* \* \*

Chu Hi employs *kuo-162* in the Yülei, and it appears occasionally in the Wentsi as well. But his use of this auxiliary is not very widely differentiated, i. e. *kuo-162* follows after a limited number of principal verbs only — which in some cases are compound ones — and these verbs recur again and again before *kuo-162*. As to a combination like *fang-66 kuo-162* (5), one is in doubt whether to treat *kuo-162* as an auxiliary or to consider it as a component of a binome. It occurs quite often, and it seems to convey the same meaning as *fang-66 hia-1* (cf. II:C:10).

### § 3. *Tek.*

The word *tek* occurs in the Chou time literature in different meanings, such as »to get, to obtain, to take, to be able». *Tek* is still current as a principal verb either alone or as the first or the second component of a binome, as e. g. *tek sheng-19* »to conquer», *ki-149 tek* »to remember». At the same time *tek* has become an auxiliary, which may follow after any kind of principal verb, and which is used in a variety of senses. Thus, it expresses a result as well as propriety or potentiality. It may be added to another auxiliary verb like *pit61* and express necessity. *Tek* alone may also express necessity when preceding the principal verb.

We know that the auxiliary *tek* was used in early T'ang time.<sup>1)</sup> Chu Hi makes frequent use of *tek*. There are, roughly speaking, one and a half as many instances of *tek* as of *liao* in the Ts'üanshu, i. e. more than 2,000 instances. *Tek* is often to be found in passages which are quotations from Chu Hi's masters. Instances of *tek* are easily found in the Kin sī lu and in the commentaries.

Here follows a selection of sentences with *tek* from the Yülei:

#### A. 1—5.

1. 6:47a *hiao:72 tek liao chi:30 kuan:118 wan-124 wei-30*  
when he understands it then he should just go and test it.
2. 47:17b *jan jok chen109 ko-118 hiao:72 tek*  
but if we really understand what is meant by it.
3. 18:34b *shī t'a9 ta-37 tuan-79 liao tek*  
on the whole he understood.
4. 45:12a *chī:30 k'an-109 ts'i yit1 kü-30 pien-9 liao tek*  
look only at this one sentence and you will get at the meaning.
5. 8:14b *kuo-162 tek che-162 yit1 kuan169 hou-60 fang70 k'o tsin-162*  
after he has passed this gate then he may enter.

#### B. 6—13.

6. 15:1b *ju ho chī111 tek*  
how can one know?
7. 12:47a *ju ho shīk149 tek*  
how can one know?
8. 12:3b *ju ho hing;144 tek*  
how can it be done?
9. 4:32b *shen;99 ch'u-141 tso-9 tek, shen;99 ch'u-141 tso-9 put tek*  
where one can act, and where one cannot act.
10. 42:13b *pien-9 chī111 tek t'o9 ye yu jen9:7*  
then one can know that others also have »jen».
11. 18:7a *ju ho tso-9 tek che-162 ko-118*  
how can one do this?

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

12. 42:3a ta-37 wan:75 *ch'eng*;108 *tek* to36, siao:42 wan:75 *ch'eng*;108 *tek* shao:42  
a big bowl can hold much, a small bowl can hold little.
13. 42:7a pien-9 *tso*-9 *tek* hü:149 to36 shi-6 ch'u17 lai9  
then many things can be done.

#### C. 14—22.

14. 2:18b Ch'eng;115 tsī *shuot*149 *tek* ju ts'i ts'in147 ts'iet18 liao  
Ch'eng tsī said it to the point like this.
15. 3:24b chi:30 shī *kien*-147 *tek* put wan:40 ts'üan:11  
it is only that they do not fully understand it.
16. 9:20b jok li:96 *hui*-73 *tek* t'ou-162 ch'et60  
if he understands thoroughly . . .
17. 15:7b che-162 yi-61 sī-61 ye *fai*105 *tek* hao:38  
this thought is also well brought out.
18. 20:2a Meng tsī *shuot*149 *tek* tsui-73 hao:38  
Mencius said it extremely well.
19. 20:4b Meng tsī ta-37 kang120 tu163 p'ou:18 sik75 *tek* fen18 ming72  
Mencius analysed all the principles clearly.
20. 27:9a kin9 jen9 *shuot*149 *tek* lai9 t'ai-37 tsing119 liao  
now people explain it too minutely.
21. 31:55b che-162 ko-118 *fen*18 *piet*18 *tek* tsui-73 ts'in147 ts'iet18  
these are held apart very neatly.
22. 49:26b ts'i liang:11 kü-30 *kie*:148 *tek* kik75 fen18 hiao:72  
these two sentences are extremely comprehensively explained.

#### A. 1—5.

Here *tek* denotes a result. In sentence 1 *tek* is followed by the perfective *liao*. We met with *hiao*:72 *tek* and *liao tek* when dealing with the binomes in chapter II:C. But as *tek* in these binomes may also be looked upon as an auxiliary, they are included here as well. When discussing *liao* it was stated that Chu Hi seldom allows an object to follow after the verb + *liao*. But when the verb is followed by *tek* then he quite often adds an object, as in sentence 5. In this sentence *tek* seems to have the same force as *liao* has in the modern language. *Tek* thus expresses both result and completion in Chu Hi's language.

#### B. 6—13.

We are here confronted with examples illustrating *tek* as the auxiliary of potentiality. *Tek* frequently has this function in Chu Hi's language, and more so than in the modern language. In sentence 9 the negative *put* is inserted between the principal verb and *tek*. This is a very common construction, to which we will revert in § 10. In sentence 13 the result is expressed by the accessory verbs *ch'u*17 *lai*9 (cf. § 9).

#### C. 14—22.

In these sentences the verb + *tek* is followed by an adverb. The binome *t'ou-162 ch'et60* in sentence 16 may also be regarded as an auxiliary. This construction, a verb + *tek* + an adverb (or auxiliary) is very common indeed. In this position the character *tek* is pronounced »ti« today, and it is often written with the same character as the particle *tik*. It is evident that *tek* in the above 9 sentences signifies a resultative action.

\* \* \*

It is important to observe that whereas the resultative *tek* in type 14—22 is allowed both with simple and with compound verbs, the use of *tek* in the other groups is as a rule restricted to simple verbs.

Of all the auxiliary verbs that Chu Hi uses, *tek* is the one that he employs most frequently. In some constructions in which Chu Hi prefers *tek* (e. g. a sentence like 5 above) it is not so often applied in the modern colloquial language as it was in the old *pai hua*, having been superseded by other auxiliaries like *liao* or *chok*.

#### § 4. *Chok*.

The character *chu-140* occurs in the classical language in the sense of »place; position; to manifest«. The same character was applied to a *jup-sheng* word, *chok140*, of similar meaning »to place«. *Chok* still exists as a principal verb, but its main purpose is to serve as an auxiliary.<sup>1)</sup> *Chok* is in this application now generally written *chok109*, and when preceded by the negative *put*, and when denoting a result, it is pronounced *chao* in modern Pekinese. The auxiliary *chok* has two functions: to indicate result, and to express the durative or progressive aspect. When resultative it is in the modern language often followed by the perfective *liao*, e. g. *chao:64 chok liao* »to have found«, *p'eng-112 chok liao* »to have met«. *Chok* is quite common in this function today, but it is still more so when it indicates a progressive action. One even finds it joined to verbs which in themselves have a durative sense, as e. g. *yu* »to have«, *ai-61* »to love«. A principal verb + *chok* sometimes conveys the same meaning as the French »gérondif«.<sup>2)</sup>

It would be an exaggeration to assert that Chu Hi employs this auxiliary frequently. On the other hand, it is not difficult to find sentences having *chok*, and they are far more numerous than, for instance, those having *kuo-162*. The following sentences will show how familiar Chu Hi was after all with this auxiliary as well:

#### A. 1—10.

1. 1:15a jok chü:30 *yü-162 chok yit1 ch'ung;166 pok140 wut93 shü-6*  
if you come across something very stingy.

<sup>1)</sup> As such it existed in T'ang time; cf. H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>2)</sup> A few of the sentences below have been rendered in French as well, in order to illustrate this.

2. 6:3a *k'uan*40 *chok* k'i;74 *hien*-170 *kin*:120 *chok* k'o-149 *ch'eng*;115  
extend the time limit and limit the curriculum.
3. 7:4b *ch'uk*148 *chok* na-163 *wut*93 *pien*-9 *shī* na-163 *ko*-118 *wut*93 *ch'utl*17  
*lai*9  
if a certain property is aroused, then that same property will appear.<sup>1)</sup>
4. 12:22b *yu*-29 *chuang*-64 *chok* *hao*:38 *shī*;72 *tsiet*118  
and met with the proper time.
5. 15:1b *p'ing*;51 *sheng*100 *so* *yi* *put* *kan*:66 *shuot*149 *chok*  
in my whole life I have therefore not ventured to explain it.
6. 17:15a (question by someone): *huan*;162 *shī* *ou*:9 *jan* *shuot*149 *chok*  
or was it said so by chance?  
(Chu Hi's answer): *che*-162 *ye* *chi*:30 *shī* *ou*:9 *jan* *shuot*149 *tek* *ju* *ts'i*  
it was said like this just by chance.
7. 35:6a *k'an*-109 *chok* *san*1 *pok*106 *p'ien*118 *shī*149  
after reading the three hundred odes.
8. 44:36b *keng*-73 *k'uan*40 *chok* *yi*-61 *sī*-61 *han*;85 *yang*:184  
consider the matter in taking a still broader view of it.<sup>2)</sup>
9. 47:14a *kou*:140 *shang*9 *chok* *che*-162 *sheng*100 *yi*-61  
if this vital impulse is wounded.
10. 52:26a *che*-162 *li*:145 *chu*-9 *chok* *k'üek*26 *yu*-29 *ts'ung*;60 *che*-162 *li*:145 *k'i*:156  
if it stops here, then it will start again from here.<sup>3)</sup>

### B. 11—20.

11. 4:1b *ho* *yung*-101 *hü*:149 *to*36 *nien*51 *sui*;170 *chok* K'ung *tsī* put *k'ü*-28  
why did they follow Confucius for many years without going away?
12. 8:34a *t'ien*37 *hia*-1 *jen*9 *k'an*-109 *chok* *tsī*-132 *neng* *ju* *ts'i*  
if people observe (these principles) they can act in accordance with them spontaneously.
13. 9:7a *mei*:80 *ch'ang*;50 *sī*61 *liang*166 *chok* *kik*75 *hao*:38 *siao*-118  
whenever I am considering it, I feel like laughing.<sup>4)</sup>
14. 18:43b *che*-162 *pan*137 *ch'u*-141 *sū*181 *chok* *tan*64 *tang*102  
such duties must be attended to.
15. 42:10b *so* *yi* *shan*-30 *ok*61 *sū*181 *chok* *tui*-41 *shuot*149  
so that necessarily you speak of good and evil in contrast.
16. 23:1b *sin*61 *chi*:30 *shī* *pao*20 *chok* *che*-162 *tao*-162 *li*:96.  
the mind just contains these principles.
17. 43:12a *to*36 *shuot*149 *chok* *k'i*-84  
for the most part refer to the »*k'i*».

<sup>1)</sup> en poussant un certain objet, alors le même objet paraîtra.

<sup>2)</sup> considérez le cas élargissant encore plus vos idées.

<sup>3)</sup> en s'arrêtant ici, il recommencera d'ici.

<sup>4)</sup> en y pensant, j'ai envie de rire.

18. 47:3b sūl81 yao kin:120 kin:120 *shou:40 chok*  
we must be watching it closely.
19. 47:13a lun-149 *chok* li:96 lai9  
when discussing the »li».
20. 49:21a ti-32 k'üek26 *k'ao-175 chok* na-163 t'i'en37  
the earth truly depends on Heaven.

#### A. 1—10.

Here *chok* denotes a result. In some of these sentences and in some of those under B the function of *chok* is quite difficult to determine. In regard to this auxiliary H. Maspero says<sup>1)</sup>: »On rencontre *chok* placé, comme aujourd'hui, immédiatement après le verbe principal, avec un sens assez indéfini de réalisation». It was remarked at the beginning of this paragraph that *chok* may be followed by the perfective *liao* in modern Mandarin. Chu Hi does not add *liao* to *chok*, so far as I have been able to find. Example 6 requires a special remark. There a question by someone has been included. Chu Hi's interlocutors do not very often use the *pai hua* auxiliaries in their questions, but here one of them employs *chok* (the question is, besides, introduced by the colloquial *huan*;162, cf. IX:4), and Chu Hi has *tek* in his answer. *Chok* and *tek* are synonymous in these two clauses, so far as I can judge. It is evident that Chu Hi uses these two auxiliaries in the same sense. In sentence 5 we notice the negative *put*, contrary to modern usage.

#### B. 11—20

When dealing with the auxiliary *chok* Kao Ming-k'ai<sup>2)</sup> says that *chok* denoting a progressive action has become current only in modern times, and that *chok* in the old *pai hua* was generally used to denote a resultative action. To be sure, *chok* cannot be said to be frequent in Chu Hi's language, but when he uses it, although sometimes in a very vague sense, he allows it to denote a durative or progressive action in almost as many cases as a resultative action. I am well aware of the fact that it is impossible to draw a clear line of demarcation between the sentences under A and B, as some of them may be interpreted in one way or the other. (Thus it could be interpreted as »gérondif» in sentences 3, 8, 10, and 13; cf. the French translations). In any case it must be admitted that in most of the above sentences the verb + *chok* conveys a progressive sense. In the modern language *chok* is not adjoined to another auxiliary like *yao* and *sūl81*. Chu Hi does not object to adding *chok* to *sūl81*, a fact to which sentences 14 and 15 testify.

Before we leave this auxiliary it should be mentioned that it occurs now and then in the Wentsi, as well as in the Kin sī lu.

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<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>2)</sup> Kao Ming-k'ai, *Han yü yü fa lun*, Shanghai 1948, p. 383.

## § 5. *Kiao66*.

*Kiao66* as a principal verb means »to teach«. In the modern language it is used to form the passive and as a causative. In the latter function it is often met with in Chu Hi's language, but never as an auxiliary of the passive voice (cf. V:1). Contrary to modern usage, Chu Hi employs *kiao66* as an auxiliary placed after the principal verb, evidently in order to express that the action is completed or brought to a result. This feature exists in T'ang time.<sup>1)</sup>

Here follow 5 sentences with *kiao66* in this function:

1. 2:5a chü:30 yao *t'i*;64 *kiao66* t'a9 sing;146  
you must just arouse it (the mind).
2. 3:27a *k'an*-109 *kiao66* sin61 hia-1 shi fei fen18 ming72  
and recognize clearly the right and the wrong in one's mind.
3. 15:17a sül81 shi kuo:75 küet85 *tso*-9 *kiao66* ch'eng;62  
then one must daringly accomplish it.
4. 2:23b sül81 chok *sü*61 *liang*166 *kiao66* liao  
we must think it over.
5. 3:11a yao *fen*18 *piet*18 *kiao66* ship24 *fen*-18 *fen*18 ming72  
everything must be clearly distinguished.

As can be seen from the above sentences, *kiao66* may follow after a compound verb as well as after a simple one. Further, it may be followed by another auxiliary, e. g. *liao* or *ch'eng*;62, but it is never preceded by another auxiliary, i. e. it is always adjoined directly to the principal verb. Chu Hi quite often uses *kiao66* in this function in his colloquial language.

## § 6. *Tao-18 and chu-9*.

### A. *Tao-18*.

*Tao-18* »to arrive» occurs in the modern language as an auxiliary denoting result, e. g. *chao*:64 *tao-18* »to finds», *wen*-30 *tao-18* »to get information». Chu Hi does not use *tao-18* as an auxiliary verb very often, and, when he does employ it, it is as a rule preceded either by the potential *tek* or by the negative *put* (cf § 10):

1. 12:48a Tsü kung-154 shi pok24 wen;128 k'iang;57 chi-149 shang-1 *tso*-9 *tao*-18  
Tsü-kung was accomplished with regard to wide learning and a powerful memory.
2. 10:22b tsek hia-1 mien-176 hü:149 to36 shi-6 fang70 *chao*-86 *kuan*:118 *tek* *tao*-18  
then the many things that follow can be attended to.
3. 19:16b k'üek26 shi *kien*-147 *put* *tao*-18  
it certainly cannot be perceived.

<sup>1)</sup> Po Kü-yi, for instance, uses it in his poetry.

A construction like *shuot149 tao-18 cheng-77 sin61* »to speak of correcting the heart» is very common indeed. But here I believe *tao-18* to be a preposition governing *cheng-77 sin61*, and not an auxiliary verb belonging to *shuot149*. Further examples of this type will be supplied in chapter X § 3.

## B. Chu-9.

*Chu-9* means »to stop». When used as an auxiliary it expresses the idea of »remaining». In the modern language *chu-9* is quite common as a component of binomes e. g. *chi:77 chu-9* »to cease», *liu102 chu-9* »to detain». Chu Hi seldom uses *chu-9* as an auxiliary, and, when he does, it is — like *tao-18* — generally preceded by *tek* or *put* (cf. § 10):

4. 1:18b ju yu jen9 tsai li:145 mien-176 *pa chu-9*  
as if there were a man inside keeping watch.
5. 1:15b ye tsii-132 put *kie:148 chu-9 liao*  
she does not stop (brooding).
6. 1:24a ju ho *sek40 tek chu-9*  
how can it be stopped?
7. 18:16b *sui172 kin-113 chi:77 tek chu-9*  
even if it can be prohibited.
8. 52:24b *ts'ut24 cha-4 lan64 t'a9 put chu-9*  
he cannot be stopped suddenly.

## § 7. *ch'eng;62, p'o-112 etc.*

There are a number of verbs which sometimes function as auxiliaries, conveying the idea of completion: *ch'eng;62* »to complete», *p'o-112* »to break», *tao:9* »to overthrow», *t'ou-162* »to penetrate». When verbs of this kind follow immediately after a principal verb they may be considered to form part of binomes. In chapter II we were confronted with such binomes, e. g. *t'ou-162 ch'et60*, *tsan-154 ch'eng;62*, *ch'ek64 huai-32*, *nung55 huai-32*, *k'an-109 kien-147*, *kung66 p'o-112*, *k'an-109 p'o-112*, *shuot149 p'o-112*, *t'ung162 t'ou-162*, and *kuan-154 t'ung162*.

The following sentences will illustrate some of these auxiliaries:

1. 1:15b *chi:30 pei-145 t'a9 ch'ang;50 ch'ang;50 jen-61 tik pao-64 tek ch'eng;62*  
they are always brooded over like that by her.
2. 19:25a *fang70 neng tso-9 tek shi-6 ch'eng;62*  
then one can complete matters.
3. 3:22a *yi:49 shuot149 p'o-112 ts'i ping-104* (Wentsi)  
this fault has been revealed.
4. 8:30a *hou-60 hut61 jan k'an-109 p'o-112 liao*  
if one afterwards suddenly perceives it.

5. 1:14b *kung66 p'o-112 liao kuan169 hien-170*  
when the frontier is assaulted.
6. 1:20a *jok neng yü yit1 ch'u-141 ta-37 ch'u-141 kung66 tek p'o-112*  
if he can capture one important passage.
7. 8:20a *t'ui64 tao:9 na-163 jen9*  
when that man is overthrown.
8. 3:12b *k'an-109 tek tao-162 li:96 t'ou-162*  
when one understands the principles (thoroughly).
9. 1:10a *tsiu ts'i li:96 hui-73 tek t'ou-162*  
if only this can be grasped (thoroughly).
10. 8:14a *sü181 shi yao ta:64 tiep102 tek tsin-108*  
it must be aroused (to the utmost).

In six of the above sentences the auxiliary *tek* follows after the principal verb, and then another auxiliary follows, in two cases preceded by an object (2, 8). This is the general pattern for these auxiliaries (cf. tao-18 and chu-9, § 6). It has been said that *tek*, besides expressing potentiality, also denotes result or completion (§ 3). When both potentiality and completion are being expressed we often find two auxiliaries, first *tek* and then *ch'eng*:62, *t'ou*-162 or the like. When non-potentiality is expressed, then *put* is inserted between the principal verb and the auxiliary (cf. § 10). In sentences 3—5 we find *p'o*-112 following immediately after the verb. In sentences 4 and 5 *p'o*-112 is followed by the perfective *liao*, which is the only auxiliary that comes after auxiliaries of this type. *Kung66 p'o-112*, *k'an-109 p'o-112*, and *shuot149 p'o-112* might just as well be regarded as binomes (cf. chapter II:E), but I have dealt with them here as well, since *p'o*-112 follows after different verbs, and since it denotes completion.

## § 8. Accessory verbs.

In modern Mandarin we very often find a construction with a principal verb followed by one or two accessory verbs: e. g. *na64 lai9* »to bring here», *na64 k'u-28* »to take away», *na64 shang-1* »to take up», *na64 k'i:156 lai9* »to take up», *na64 ch'u17 lai9* »to take out». These accessory verbs indicate direction — as can be seen from the examples — and they may be called directional complements. But they may just as well be used in a figurative sense, indicating different shades of meaning. Chu Hi does not — so far as I have been able to find — couple the verb *na64* »to take» with accessory verbs indicating direction. Chu Hi combines as a rule verbs of this kind with verbs which do not express direction or movement. If the principal verb does express direction, then it is used in an abstract sense, i. e. its object is an abstract word:

1. 1:2b *ye chü:30 fang-66 hia-1 che-162 king-66 put tek*  
just to put down this reverence will not do.

2. 1:14b pei-145 jen9 *tot37 k'ü-28*  
it is snatched away by people.  
3. 1:23b fot9 kia40 yit1 hiang-30 *ch'et64 k'ü-28 hü:149 to36 shi-6*  
Buddhism has hitherto removed many matters (for study).

*Fang-66 hia-1, tot37 k'ü-28*, and *ch'et64 k'ü-28* might just as well be looked upon as binomes, and the first two of them are among the binomes dealt with in chapter II.

#### A. Lai9, k'ü-28, ch'ut17.

The words *lai9* »to come» and *k'ü-28* »to go» are extremely common as accessory verbs in the present-day colloquial language. Chu Hi makes a frequent use of *lai9* with this application. He also employs *k'ü-28* (cf. sentences 2 and 3) and *ch'ut17*, but by no means as often as *lai9*:

4. 1:5a tu163 *li:96 hui-73 lai9*  
all are understood.
5. 1:12b mou:75 *k'an-109 lai9 yik8 yu shen-99 nan172*  
I think it is very difficult.
6. 9:29b chi:30 yu Han;178 wen;67 kung12 ts'eng;73 *shuot149 lai9*  
only Mr. Han has explained it.
7. 27:9a kin9 jen9 *shuot149 tek lai9 t'ai-37 tsing119 liao*  
now people explain it too minutely.
8. 15:13a hut61 jan *tek che-162 sie7 yü:173 lai9*  
if we suddenly have this rain.
9. 45:12a *yu hü:149 to36 fen18 shu-66 lai9*  
there are many grades.
10. 42:6a sing-61 na:163 li:145 *yu san1 p'in:30 lai9*  
where can you get three grades in the original nature?
11. 1:12b shun-181 yi-123 li:96 *tso-9 k'ü-28*  
and act in accordance with the principles of righteousness.
12. 1:5b kiao66 jen9 ts'ie:1 ts'ung;60 kin-162 ch'u-141 *tso-9 k'ü-28*  
and let people start from that which is near at hand.
13. 15:28b k'ung:61 *lok140 tsai li:145 mien-176 k'ü-28*  
fear has entered into it.
14. 8:2a pien-9 hui-73 *sheng100 ch'ut17 ya;140 niet140*  
then it can produce buds and shoots.
15. 62:26b pien-9 *tso-9 ch'ut17 hü:149 to36 shi-6 yep75*  
and fulfilled many duties.
16. 6:3a fang70 *kien-147 tek yit1 tuan-79 tao-162 li:96 ch'ut17*  
when one section of principles has just been understood.

Judging from the above sentences illustrating Chu Hi's use of *lai9* (4—10) — and I think they are typical examples of his use of this auxiliary — this word seems

to function in about the same way as *liao* (cf. § 1). The idea of direction is not brought out. From the examples with *k'ü-28* and *ch'ut17* (11–16), on the other hand, it is evident that the original meaning »go» and »go out» is conveyed, although they are used in a figurative sense. The above sentences also illustrate how *lai9*, *k'ü-28* and *ch'ut17* may either follow directly after the principal verb or be preceded by an object or an adverb. Sometimes *tek* is inserted between the principal verb and *lai9* (7). In sentence 16 the verb is likewise followed by *tek*.

### B. *K'i:156 lai9*.

We have seen how in the modern language *k'i:156 lai9* »to rise» is coupled with the verb *na64*, *na64 k'i:156 lai9* »to take up». Chu Hi does not use *k'i:156 lai9* as a directional complement in a concrete sense, but he uses it with the word *t'i;64* »to lift up, to mention», in an abstract sense, cf. sentence 17 below. In the present-day language, *k'i:156 lai9* may express the beginning of an action, i. e. it is an auxiliary of the inchoative aspect, e. g. *siao-118 k'i:156 lai9* »to begin to laugh». Chu Hi rarely uses *k'i:156 lai9*, and when he does so it seems to emphasize the idea expressed by the principal verb or to express a completed action, rather than to express an inchoative action. 5 sentences will illustrate Chu Hi's use of this compound accessory verb:

17. 7:10a *ts'í yu-29 t'i;64 k'i:156 lai9 shuot149*  
this is a quotation.
18. 1:15b *tai-60 tek tsai-13 cheng:66 tun-181 k'i:156 lai9*  
one must wait until one is readjusted.
19. 19:28a *hop30 k'i:156 lai9 pien-9 shī tao-162 chī ts'üan;11 t'i:188*  
taken together, they constitute the whole body of the Tao.
20. 15:52a *shī ch'u18 kan:61 fat105 che-162 sie7 shan-30 tuan117 k'i:156 lai9*  
it is to arouse the good properties.
21. 18:36a *pien-9 shī tsī-132 yi-123 . . . shuot149 k'i:156 lai9*  
it is said from the point of view of righteousness.

In all these sentences the original meaning of *k'i:156 lai9* »to rise» is discernible. *K'i:156 lai9* may follow immediately after the principal verb, or it may be separated from this by an object. The same is the case in the modern language.

### C. *Ch'ut17 lai9*.

The accessory compound verb *ch'ut17 lai9* »to come out» is far more favoured by Chu Hi than *k'i:156 lai9*. It indicates either the beginning or the result of an action, or it just emphasizes the meaning of the principal verb. The combinations *fat105 ch'ut17 lai9* »to manifest», *shuot149 ch'ut17 lai9* »to say», *tso-9 ch'ut17 lai9* »to perform, to accomplish» occur very often indeed.

Here follow a few sentences in which a construction with *ch'ut17 lai9* appears:

22. 4:2a    *kok30 sui;170 t'a9 fen18 liang-166 tso-9 ch'ut17 lai9*  
             everyone accomplishes according to his capacity.
23. 8:23b    *ju shui:85 jen-61 tik kun:85 ch'ut17 lai9*  
             as, e. g., water rolling like this.
24. 48:23b    *tsi-132 chung2 sin61 fat105 ch'ut17 lai9*  
             as proceeding from the heart.
25. 27:29b    *so yi tsok9 che-162 shu73 ch'ut17 lai9*  
             therefore he wrote this book.
26. 48:14a    *fen18 hü:149 to36 ming30 tsii-39 ch'ut17 lai9*  
             it has various names.
27. 21:1b    *tso-9 ch'ut17 put hao:38 shii-6 lai9*  
             they do bad things.
28. 27:6a    *k'üek26 t'ui64 ch'ut17 hü:149 to36 shii-6 lai9*  
             but he developed many principles.

From the above sentences it can be seen that *ch'ut17 lai9* may take different positions: it is adjoined to the principal verb in sentences 22—24, the object is inserted between the principal verb and *ch'ut17 lai9* in 25 and 26. But there is a third possibility — and this position is the most common in the modern *pai hua*: the two accessory verbs are separated from each other by the object, as in sentences 27 and 28. The position of *ch'ut17 lai9* does not seem to make any difference to the meaning.

#### D. *Tsiang41 k'ü-28.*

The third and last pair of accessory verbs with which we shall deal is *tsiang41 k'ü-28*. Chu Hi employs it very often indeed. It seems to me that, when it is added to a principal verb, the action somehow is extended or continuous. Unlike *k'i:156 lai9* and *ch'ut17 lai9*, *tsiang41 k'ü-28* is never separated from the principal verb. This construction is certainly a colloquial feature, although it does not exactly belong to the modern Pekinese. It was common in the old *pai hua*, to which the novels *Shui hu chuan* and *Ju lin wai shi* testify. In these, however, *tsiang41* is combined with other verbs as well, whereas Chu Hi has only the particular combination *tsiang41 k'ü-28*.<sup>1)</sup>

Below 9 sentences are given with this construction:

29. 1:23b    *chi:30 sui;170 shii-6 kun:85 tsiang41 k'ü-28*  
             they act in a haphazard way just according to the circumstances.
30. 3:10b    *chi:30 ying-61 fu-18 tsiang41 k'ü-28*  
             just respond to them.

<sup>1)</sup> cf. B. Karlgren, New Excursions in Chinese Grammar, p. 75.

31. 3:10b chī:30 ch'eng115 liang166 tsiang41 k'ū-28  
just estimate.
32. 3:11b li:96 hui-73 tsiang41 k'ū-28  
take note of.
33. 5:21b sui-162 chī:30 ju ch'ang;50 shī-6 tso-9 tsiang41 k'ū-28  
and then continue in the usual way.
34. 12:39a ye chī:30 kiao66 yi tao-162 li:96 p'ing;51 p'ing;51 tso-9 tsiang41 k'ū-28  
he also taught people peacefully to act according to the principles.
35. 22:41b pien-9 pei-145 sie;163 lai9 sheng-19 tsiang41 k'ū-28  
that is to be overcome by evil.
36. 45:11a Ming Tao to36 chī:30 jen-61 tik ch'eng;62 p'ien-91 shuot149 tsiang41 k'ū-28  
Ming Tao generally favours continuous discourse.

It is evident from the above sentences that *tsiang41 k'ū-28* expresses a continuous action. It can further be seen that *tsiang41 k'ū-28* follows after compound as well as after simple verbs, but the same pertains to *tsiang41 k'ū-28* as to the other auxiliaries discussed in this chapter: mostly they follow after simple verbs.

#### § 9. *Lai9 — k'ū-28.*

When discussing auxiliaries placed after the principal verb, we should also draw attention to a construction of the type *shuot149 lai9 shuot149 k'ū-28* »to say again and again», *k'an-109 lai9 k'an-109 k'ū-28* »to read again and again». An iterative action is being expressed by this construction. It is very common in the modern language. Chu Hi does not use this construction with many different verbs. The two just referred to appear quite often. Just a few more may be mentioned:

*chok64 lai9 chok64 k'ū-28* »to grope again and again»  
*jen-149 lai9 jen-149 k'ū-28* »to recognize again and again»  
*kai:66 lai9 kai:66 k'ū-28* »to change again and again»  
*kuat18 lai9 kuat18 k'ū-28* »to scrape again and again»  
*t'ien85 lai9 t'ien85 k'ū-28* »to add again and again»  
*t'ui64 lai9 t'ui64 k'ū-28* »to push again and again».

#### § 10. *Put liao, put kuo-162 etc.*

In the modern language it very often happens that the negative *put* is inserted between a principal verb and its auxiliary in order to express »non-potentiality«, e. g. *ch'it30 put liao* »I cannot eat«, *ch'ut17 put k'ū-28* »I cannot go out«, whereas a plain negation is expressed by placing *put* before the verb + the auxiliary: *put ch'it30 liao (la)*, »I do not eat«, *put ch'ut17 k'ū-28 liao (la)* »I do not go out«. When the second component of a binome is a verbal complement (auxiliary) like, for

instance, *hia-1* in *fang-66 hia-1* »to put down», *kien-147* in *k'an-109 kien-147* »to see», the negative may be inserted between the two components, so as to express »non-potentiality» *fang-66 put hia-1* »cannot put down», *k'an-109 put kien-147* »cannot see».

With some of the auxiliaries discussed in this chapter Chu Hi uses this construction very often (e. g. *tek*), with others he never or hardly ever uses it. Here follows a selection of sentences illustrating this feature. They are arranged according to the auxiliaries, in the same order as that in which these have been dealt with in this chapter:

1. 8:21a tsek *siang109 k'i'en93 put liao*  
they cannot be connected.
2. 1:13a *wei tao-162 put liao*  
he cannot be a Taoist priest.  
(judging from the context this sentence seems to have this meaning, it can also mean »he cannot study the truth» cf. sentence 22 below).
3. 20:17b *k'ung:61 Meng tsī tan64 tang102 put kuo-162*  
I am afraid Mencius could not cope with this.
4. 22:1b *ting-40 shī ch'it30 put kuo-162*  
it can certainly not be endured.
5. 4:13a *kiu-66 put tek ping-104 er:128*  
it cannot cure the illness.
6. 7:25b *tan-9 hok203 an-72 hing,144 put tek*  
but it is impossible to walk in the dark.
7. 1:2b *ye chī:30 fang-66 hia-1 che-162 king-66 put tek*  
just to put down this reverence will not do.
8. 12:13a *pien-9 hiao:72 put tek*  
and I do not know.
9. 20:17b *k'ung:61 Meng tsī liao che-162 shī-6 put tek*  
I am afraid Mencius could not settle this matter.
10. 13:31a tsek *yik8 shī li:96 hui-73 put tek tik liao*  
then it is something that cannot be understood.
11. 15:26b *k'üek26 fei sheng-128 jen9 tso-9 put tek*  
if one is not a sage, one cannot do it.
12. 12:12a *k'üek26 ju ts'i shuot149 put tek*  
but it cannot be explained in this way.
13. 42:1b *yik8 she:64 put tek che-162 ko-118 ts'ang140 ts'ang140 tik*  
this mighty Heaven cannot be left out of account.
14. 43:7a *jan ki sheng100 ch'ut17 tsek li:96 kuan:118 put tek*  
nevertheless, after it has been produced, »li» cannot control it.
15. 4:5b *chok64 lai9 chok64 k'ü-28 chok64 put chok*  
he gropes for it again and again, but cannot get hold of it.

16. 19:27a yin<sup>31</sup> *shui-109 put chok hut<sup>61</sup> jan si<sup>61</sup> tek*  
because I could not sleep, I suddenly realized it.
17. 42:6b nai sing-<sup>61</sup> tsü-<sup>39</sup> *an<sup>40</sup> tun-181 put chok*  
but they could not settle the term »sing».
18. 18:17a shi<sup>1</sup> *chao-86 kuan:<sup>118</sup> put tao-18 ch'u-141*  
it is something we cannot control.
19. 8:18a tan-<sup>9</sup> *pa chok<sup>64</sup> t'a<sup>9</sup> put chu-9*  
but one cannot get hold of it.
20. 1:22a ye *ch'eng;<sup>64</sup> tai-62 put chu-9*  
it cannot hold it.
21. 1:13a pien-<sup>9</sup> *tso-9 put ch'eng;<sup>62</sup>*  
it cannot be accomplished.
22. 1:13a *wei seng<sup>9</sup> put ch'eng;<sup>62</sup>*  
he cannot be a Buddhist priest (in the text this sentence precedes sentence 2)
23. 2:13b chi:<sup>30</sup> shi jen<sup>9</sup> *k'an-109 t'a<sup>9</sup> put kien-147*  
it is only that people cannot see it.
24. 47:17a pien-<sup>9</sup> *k'an-109 put kien-147 tek ho ch'u-141 shi jen<sup>9:7</sup>*  
we cannot see where the »jen« is
25. 7:13b *wei;<sup>61</sup> kien-147 tek put p'o-112*  
it is only that he cannot understand.
26. 7:13b che-<sup>162</sup> shi *kien-147 put p'o-112*  
this is not to be understood.
27. 1:20a tan-<sup>9</sup> ta-<sup>37</sup> ch'u-<sup>141</sup> *kung<sup>66</sup> put p'o-112*  
but if the important passages cannot be understood.
28. 51:17b chi:<sup>30</sup> shi *k'an-109 tao-162 li:<sup>96</sup> put t'ou-162* (Wentsi)  
it is only that they cannot understand the principles.
29. 4:24a so yi keng-<sup>73</sup> *fang-66 put hia-1*  
therefore it can still less be put down.
30. 2:17b *k'an-109 tao-162 li:<sup>96</sup> put tsin-108*  
if one cannot understand the principles (thoroughly)
31. 42:26a k'i t'o<sup>9</sup> keng-<sup>73</sup> *t'ui<sup>64</sup> put k'u-28*  
of other principles you can discern nothing.
32. 6:29b er *k'an-109 t'a<sup>9</sup> tao-162 li:<sup>96</sup> put ch'ut<sup>17</sup>*  
and cannot understand his teaching.

It is evident that the construction with verb + *put* + auxiliary denotes »non-potentiality« (in some cases strong negation, e. g. 8, 26). Chu Hi does not seem to be very familiar with using *liaο* in this construction. The first two sentences above are the only instances with *put liaο* I have been able to find in the Ts'üanshu. That such is the case is remarkable, as *put liaο* occurs in the Buddhist T'ang texts.<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

It is easier to find instances of *kuo*-162 and *chok* preceded by *put*, although these auxiliaries are much less frequent than *liao*. As already stated in § 3:B, Chu Hi very often allows *put* to come between the principal verb and *tek*. The auxiliaries discussed in § 6 and 7 are fairly often preceded by *put*, as compared with their occurrence on the whole. The binomes *fang*-66 *hia*-1 and *k'an*-109 *kien*-147 referred to at the beginning of this paragraph are among the few binomes the components of which are separated by *put* in the Ts'üanshu. But this happens very seldom. Chu Hi seems to prefer a construction like *fang*-66 *hia*-1 *put tek* in sentence 7. The two sentences with *k'an*-109 *put kien*-147 (23 and 24) are both against modern usage, the first with the object *t'a9* inserted between *k'an*-109 and *put*, and the second with *tek* following after *k'an*-109 *put kien*-147. Instances of *put* coming before *k'u*-28 and *ch'ut*17 (31 and 32) are very rare indeed. The auxiliary *kiao*66 is always adjoined directly to the principal verb to which it belongs (cf. § 5), and consequently there are no cases of *put* coming between the verb + *kiao*66. The accessory verbs *k'i*:156 *lai*9 and *ch'ut*17 *lai*9, which are so often preceded by *put* in the modern language, do not occur in this construction either. The same pertains to *tsiang*41 *k'u*-28. From the above sentences it can be seen that there is an object following after the verb + *put* + auxiliary only in two cases (5 and 13). This position of the object is the rule in the present-day language. Chu Hi, on the other hand, often places it after the principal verb (e. g. sentences 2, 7, 9 etc.).

## CHAPTER V

### AUXILIARIES PLACED BEFORE THE PRINCIPAL VERB

#### § 1. *Pei-145.*

There are a number of words which function as auxiliaries when preceding the principal verb, as a rule with one or several words intervening. One of these words is *pei-145*, which means »coverlet», »to be exposed to», »to receive». In the Han time literature it is used as an indicator of the passive voice.<sup>1)</sup> It is, however, not necessary to use *pei-145* or any other auxiliary to express the direction of action. Sometimes the passive sense has to be inferred from the context; sometimes other constructions are used. In the preceding chapter, when discussing *liao* and *tek* we have seen how a number of sentences were rendered in the passive, particularly sentences without an agent — and such sentences are very numerous indeed, e. g.:

1. 1:1b ta-37 kang<sup>120</sup> tul<sup>163</sup> hüek<sup>39</sup> liao  
all the chief points have been studied.
2. 10:26b yi:<sup>49</sup> fen<sup>18</sup> ming<sup>72</sup> shuot<sup>149</sup> liao  
it has already been clearly explained.
3. 37:1b put chi<sup>111</sup> ho tai-9 ho nien<sup>51</sup> shit<sup>37</sup> liao  
I do not know in which generation or in which year they were lost.
4. 12:3b ju ho hing;<sup>144</sup> tek  
how can it be done?
5. 49:26b ts'i liang:<sup>11</sup> kü-30 kie:<sup>148</sup> tek kik<sup>75</sup> fen<sup>18</sup> hiao:<sup>72</sup>  
these two sentences are extremely comprehensively explained.
6. 8:21a tsek siang<sup>109</sup> k'ien<sup>93</sup> put liao  
they cannot be connected.
7. 13:31a tsek yik<sup>8</sup> shi li:<sup>96</sup> hui-73 put tek tik liao  
then it is something that cannot be understood.

Although *pei-145* occurs particularly often in the old *pai hua*, and is now considered to be somewhat bookish, we quite often hear it in the present-day colloquial language. Some other auxiliaries indicating passive voice in the modern language may be mentioned: *ai*;<sup>64</sup> »to suffer»; *jang-149* »to allow»; *kip*<sup>120</sup> »to give»; *kiao*-<sup>30</sup> »to call, to cause»; *kiao*<sup>66</sup> »to teach»; *ch'it*<sup>30</sup> »to eat». As these words do not indicate the passive voice in Chu Hi's language, they need not be discussed here.

Below are a few sentences with *pei-145*:

<sup>1)</sup> Kao Ming-k'ai, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

*A. 8—15.*

8. 15:48a k'üek28 *pei-145* piet18 jen9 *k'i76 liao*  
but he has been deceived by someone else.
9. 16:5a shi *pei-145* men169 jen9 ts'ok167 *ki-149 liao*  
it has been falsely recorded by his disciples.
10. 19:5b che-162 pien-9 *pei-145* t'o9 *pi-140 liao*  
it is hidden by another thing.
11. 47:11a chü:30 *pei-145* sii15 yi-61 *kok170 liao*  
but is cut off by selfishness.
12. 47:16a chü:30 shi *pei-145* wut93 shi-6 *yung32 kuo-162 liao*  
was impeded by foreign substance.
13. 53:39b chü:30 shi *pei-145* jen9 yük76 *fan.29 liao*  
but it is turned over by human desire.
14. 8:11b yu-20 *pei-145* yit1 ko-118 put yük76 wei shan-30 chü yi-61 lai9 *fang38 liao*  
they are hindered by an impulse of unwillingness to do good.
15. 44:8a to36 shi tan-9 chü111 yu li-18 yük76, *pei-145* li-18 yük76 tsiang41 che-162 sin61 *pao20 liao*  
most men know only the desire for gain, till the mind becomes completely submerged in it.

*B. 16—17.*

16. 13:18b chü:30 yüan;120 *pei-145* jen9 *shuo149 tek* chü65 man140  
simply because it has been explained in a muddled way by people.
17. 22:41b pien-9 *pei-145* sie;163 lai9 *sheng-19 tsiang41 k'u-28*  
but he is overcome by falseness.

*C. 18—19.*

18. 18:3b ju yit1 jen9 *pei-145 huo.86*, kip61 t'ao:149 shui:85 lai9 kiu-66  
e. g. a man exposed to fire being anxious to find water to save him.
19. 47:11a chü:30 *pei-145 sek32 liao*  
but dammed up.

*D. 20—21.*

20. 1:15b chü:30 *pei-145* t'a9 ch'ang;50 ch'ang;50 jen-61 tik *pao-64 tek ch'eng.62*  
they are always brooded over by her like that.
21. 46:2b fei shi piet18 yu yit1 ko-118 tao-162 *pei-145 wo.62 hut61 jan k'an-109 kien-147 küek64 na64 tek lai9*  
and not some other Tao which needs suddenly to be discovered and seized by me.

#### A. 8—15.

These sentences accord with modern usage in having the perfective *liao* and having the agent indicated. The agent is a pronoun, or a noun with or without a modifier, this modifier being sometimes an entire clause, which is the case in sentences 14 and 15. Sentence 15, however, seems somewhat peculiar: we notice that besides the noun after *pei-145* there is an anteposed object preceded by the auxiliary *tsiang41*. Similar peculiar constructions exist in the modern *pai hua* as well: wo:62 *pei-145 tsek154 pa tung75 si146 t'ou9 liao* »I have been robbed of my things by a thief».

#### B. 16—17.

These two sentences have no *liao*, but the verb is followed by another auxiliary. This is also possible in the present-day language.

#### C. 18—19.

There is no word between *pei-145* and the principal verb in these sentences. This construction, without an expressed agent, is exceptional in Chu Hi's language, and it is not very common in the modern colloquial language.

#### D. 20—21.

In all the sentences of sections A, B, and C the action has implied something disadvantageous to the person or thing exposed to it — and this is, as a rule, the case when *pei-145* is used in Chu Hi's language as well as in the modern language. The two sentences here are exceptional in this respect.

\* \* \*

On the whole, Chu Hi's use of the auxiliary *pei-145* is in accord with that of the modern language. It is not very frequent in the Ts'üanshu. Chu Hi does not employ any other colloquial auxiliary denoting the passive voice, so far as I have been able to find.

### § 2. *Tsiang41*.

The word *tsiang41* occurs in the classics in a variety of senses, as e. g. »to take, to go, to pass, to be about to, to intend». The last two meanings imply future time, and we meet with *tsiang41* as an auxiliary indicating future already in Chou time.<sup>1)</sup> It has preserved this function throughout the centuries, and it belongs to the colloquial language as well. Consequently Chu Hi also employs it in this sense. Thus he makes a fairly frequent use of the binome *tsiang41 lai9* »in the future»

<sup>1)</sup> For instance in the *Shi* king.

which, according to the Peiwen can be traced back to Chou time, and which is quite common in modern Mandarin as well.

Here follow three sentences in which *tsiang41* indicates future:

1. 1:20a *tsiang41 lai9 na-163 li:145 mien-176 siao:42 tik, tsī-132 jan t'ung162 t'ou-162*  
in the future the details will spontaneously be penetrated.
2. 21:19a *tsiang41 lai9 lin131 shī-6 tsī-132 yu ko-118 t'ou;181 sü-120*  
in the future when the matter arises there will spontaneously be a clue.
3. 10:7a *tsiang41 ts'i-76 tsī-132 hiao:72 tek*  
he is about to understand.

But *tsiang41* has another important function in the colloquial language. It has just been mentioned that *tsiang41* as a principal verb means »to take«. From this sense its function as an auxiliary for the anteposed object may be derived. In the literary language the object is generally placed after the principal verb, and so it is in the *pai hua*. But by means of *tsiang41* or *pa* — this latter auxiliary will be discussed in the following paragraph — the object may under certain conditions (cf § 3) be placed before the principal verb.

In the modern language *tsiang41* has largely been superseded by *pa*; it is considered to be literary now, and in the present-day *pai hua* literature it is rarely met with. But it was very common in Ming and Ts'ing time *pai hua* literature. It is easy to find sentences with *tsiang41* in Chu Hi's language; this, however, does not mean that he uses *tsiang41* very frequently.

A dozen sentences will suffice to illustrate our philosopher's use of this auxiliary:

*A. 4—11.*

4. 3:24a *sü181 shī ch'ang;50 ch'ang;50 tsiang41 ku-66 tik chi:30 kuan:118 wen85 sip124*  
one must always go on reviewing the old (items).
5. 6:42a *tsiang41 sheng-128 hien;154 chi yü:149 kie:148 k'ai169 liao*  
and expound the sayings of the sages.
6. 6:47a *tsiang41 liang:11 tuan-79 pi:81 kiao:159*  
compare the two sections.
7. 10:1b *kin9 jen9 tsiang41 K'ung Meng chi yen;149 tu163 chi:30 jen-61 tik ts'ao:140 shuai-95 k'an-109 kuo-162 liao*  
modern scholars just carelessly read through the sayings of Confucius and Mencius.
8. 13:12b *k'ung:61 tsiang41 pen:75 yi-61 shit37 liao*  
I fear you have missed the original meaning.
9. 18:34b *yit1 shi;72 tsiang41 hü:149 to36 ta-37 shi-6 fen18 fu-9 yüü t'a9*  
at once when one assigns to him several important matters . . .

10. 42:3b sing-61 pien-9 shī *tsiang41 wan:75 ch'eng;108 tek lai9*  
nature is as if you filled a bowl from the stream.
11. 44:11b chi:30 *tsiang41 tsi-132 kia40 yi-61 si-61 t'i:188 yen-187.*  
you must examine and test your thoughts.

**B. 12—15.**

12. 4:11a shao:42 kien169 *tsiang41 che-162 ko-118 tsok9 cheng-77 tao-162 li:96 liao*  
in a little while one will allow this to be the correct norm.
13. 16:21a chī:30 shī *tsiang41 che-162 ko-118 tso-9 hao:38 tik shī-6*  
it just means that he allows this to be a good deed.
14. 42:2a *tsiang41 sing-61 ming-30 tso-9 liang:11 kien-9*  
thus making Nature and the Decree two different entities.
15. 47:9a shī *tsiang41 jen9:7 lai9 fen18 tsok9 si-31 tuan-79 k'an-109*  
regards »jen» as divided into four.

**A. 4—11.**

It is evident that in these sentences *tsiang41* functions as the auxiliary for an anteposed object. We notice, further, that the principal verb is a compound, or that it is followed by an auxiliary of the perfective or resultative aspect. It is this length of the principal verb that makes it advantageous to have the object disposed of beforehand.

**B. 12—15.**

When examining these sentences we shall find that the principal verb is followed by a substantive complement. This construction with *tsiang41* is contrary to modern usage. Here obviously *tsiang41* does not function as the auxiliary for the anteposed object; rather it brings out a causative sense. *Tsiang41* may also be considered to be a principal verb followed by an object. If we translate literally, *tsiang41* may be rendered »let» or »cause». This function of *tsiang41* is probably older than that of the auxiliary for the anteposed object. It is merely a *pai hua* translation of the *yi wei* of the literary language: sentence 12 would be, in the latter: *yi ts'i wei cheng-77 tao-162 li:96*. In the present-day language *na64*, *jang-149*, *kiao-30* are used as causative auxiliaries. But Chu Hi does not use these words in that function.

**§ 3. *Pa.***

The original meanings of *pa* are »to grasp», »a handful». From the verbal sense »to grasp, to take» it has become an auxiliary with the same functions as *tsiang41* in its sense of »to take». *Pa* existed in these functions already in T'ang time.<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Wang Li, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

As was the case with *tsiang41*, *pa* does not function as a causative auxiliary in modern Mandarin. On the other hand, it is very common as the auxiliary for the anteposed object, although it cannot be used with all kinds of verbs or in all kinds of constructions. In fact, the principal verb must be a transitive verb, generally followed by some kind of complement other than a direct object.

*Pa* (= take) has the same functions in Chu Hi's language as *tsiang41* (= take) has. The similarity in sense has made these two auxiliaries coincide, and later on *tsiang41* has become obsolete in the course of time. If there may have been a clear distinction between their functions, as, e. g., *tsiang41* causative and *pa* the auxiliary for the anteposed object, there is at any rate no such distinction in Chu Hi's language. He uses *pa* more seldom than *tsiang41* and — as far as I know — only in the Yülei.

The following data will illustrate his use of this auxiliary:

A. 1—7.

1. 1:26b put k'o chi:30 *pa tso-9 mien-176 ts'ien;18 wut93 shi-6 k'an-109 liao*  
we must not just look at the things we are about to do.
2. 6:44b pien-9 *pa tsi-132 yi-61 ying-112 jup11 fang-66 li:145 mien-176*  
and bear their own point of view firmly in mind.
3. 22:21a *tu163 pa wen;67 yi-123 shuot149 ts'ok167 liao*  
they all expound the documents wrongly.
4. 12:40b pien-9 chi:30 *pa che-162 ko-118 chen109 shüt40 ying-61 fu-18*  
and then only respond to this reality.
5. 55:3b *shī pa na-163 t'ing128 tek tik tsü-132 k'ü-28 sin61 li:145 ch'ung;166*  
*fuk145 si61 liang166 kuo-162*  
it means to ponder over again and again in your mind what you have heard.
6. 57:17a *siang109 sii-9 pa ko-118 li-18 jen-18 tsiet62 tuan-69*  
it is like cutting off a sharp edge.
7. 64:14a *pa hü:149 to36 yüan;10 k'i-84 tu163 hao-127 k'üek26*  
they destroy a lot of the original matter.

B. 8—12.

8. 1:27a *kin9 jen9 pa hüek39 wen-30 lai9 tso-9 wai-36 mien-176 t'ien85 tik*  
*shi-6 k'an-109 liao*  
nowadays people look at learning as something to be added outwardly.
9. 10:7a *pa che-162 ko-118 tsok9 ti-118 yit1 kien-9*  
they considered this to be the first paragraph.
10. 27:29b *kai-140 t'a9 pa che-162 shu73 ying-112 ting-40 tso-9 jen9 shi-6 chi*  
*shu73*  
therefore he decided that this book is the book of human affairs.

11. 31:1b *jok pa hia-1 mien-176 yit1 kü-30 shuot149 tso-9 weih hua-102 chi Yik72*  
           if you let the latter sentence refer to the time before the Yi was drawn.
12. 53:56b *er kin9 pa yi-61 sī-61 k'ü-28 hing;59 jung40 t'o9*  
           now if we let the idea describe something else.

C. 13—14.

13. 1:20b *pa huo:86 lai9 pien-9 chao-86 kien-147*  
           if you get a fire then it will be illumined.
14. 42:30a *jen9 pa t'u-10 hao;152 lai9 tso-9 pit118*  
           a man who takes the hairs of the hare and makes them into pens.

A. 1—7.

These sentences accord with modern usage as far as *pa* is concerned, i. e. *pa* precedes the object of the principal verb. The verbs are all transitive, which is quite clear since they have a direct object, and there is no direct object placed after the principal verb. Further, the verb is in no case just a simple word, but it has a complement, as, e. g., the perfective *liao*, some accessory verb or a synonymous verb, or an adverb. Moreover, the principal verbs express an activity and not a feeling, which also tallies with the present-day colloquial language. Verbs like *ai-61* »to love», *k'an-109* »to see», *küek147 tek* »to feel, to perceive» are not constructed with *pa*. In all cases but one the object consists of a noun or a noun expression, e. g. *tsi-132 yi-61* in sentence 2, *che-162 ko-118 chen109 shit40* in sentence 4 etc. The exception is sentence 1, in which the clause *tso-9 mien-176 ts'ien,18 wut93 shi* »do the things in front of us» is the object. This complicated construction is, however, unusual.

B. 8—12.

*Pa* here functions in the same way as *tsiang41* does in the sentences discussed in § 2:B, i. e. it is used to bring out a causative sense, and may be rendered »let» or »allow». 8 is a complicated sentence, since it may be analysed in different ways. We may look at *pa* as the principal verb, the first clause thus being analogous to the sentences under C below. Or the sense may be causative. Finally, we may just consider the clause *pa hüek39 wen-30 lai9 k'an-109 liao* »look at learning», and disregard the words *tso-9 . . . . . shi-6*. Then *pa* is the auxiliary for the anteposited object.

C. 13—14.

Here the original verbal meaning of *pa* is clear. In these clauses *pa* may be regarded as the principal verb, and *lai9* as the auxiliary verb. *Pa* may also be explained as the causative auxiliary of type B.

\*       \*       \*

The use of *tsiang41* and *pa* as auxiliaries for the anteposed object is a Mandarin feature. It does not exist in, e. g., Cantonese or Hakka.<sup>1)</sup>

#### § 4. *Hui-73.*

The word *hui-73* occurs in different meanings in the Chou time texts, as, e. g., »to unite, to assemble, to meet«. *Hui-73* is used in many senses in the colloquial language as well. Among other things, it is a verb expressing acquired ability (Fr. *savoir*) as opposed to *neng*, which expresses natural ability (Fr. *pouvoir*). In Chu Hi's colloquial *hui-73* often has this function. As in the modern language, it serves as an auxiliary preceding another verb. *Hui-73* is often preceded by the negative *put*. Here follow 14 sentences with *hui-73*, 7 of which are negated by *put*. Further, 3 sentences with *neng* have been included:

1. 1:18b ju ho *hui-73* k'ü-28 chü-133:66 tek chü111  
how can he obtain the utmost knowledge?
2. 8:1b ju ho *hui-73* sin-9  
how can he be sincere?
3. 3:8a pien-9 *hui-73* tsien-85 tsien-85 hing;144 tek tao-18  
and then one can gradually arrive.
4. 9:10b na:163 ko-118 *hui-73* hop30 tao-162 li:96  
which can accord with the principles?
5. 10:23a king-66 liao fang70 *hui-73* sin-9  
when one is reverent, then one can be sincere.
6. 1:22b ju ho *hui-73* yik108  
how can there be any advantage?
7. 9:10b shi-6 kün30 pit61 *hui-73* chung61  
when serving the prince one must know how to be loyal.
8. 8:7b sheng-128 jen9 ku-31 put *hui-73* ts'ok167 tuan-69 liao shi-6  
the holy man definitely cannot decide a matter wrongly.
9. 42:27b chü:30 put *hui-73* shuot149 hua-149 er yi:49  
it is only that they cannot speak.
10. 4:3b ku-31 put *hui-73* ts'ok167  
it definitely cannot be wrong.
11. 5:1a ni:9 put *hui-73* tso-9 tik  
what you cannot do.
12. 6:44b kin9 jen9 put *hui-73* tuk149 shu73 shi ju ho  
how is it that people cannot study nowadays?
13. 1:1a siao:42 er;10 tsü put *hui-73* t'ui64 *tsiang41* k'ü-28  
small boys cannot cope (with it).
14. 7:11b tsai na-162 li:145 ye put *hui-73* an40  
he cannot find peace there either.

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Wang Li, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

15. 9:4a tsī-132 jan shī *neng* sin69 min83  
          the people can spontaneously be renovated.
16. 1:24a tsī-132 *neng* liao tang-102 tek t'ien37 hia-1 wan-140 wut93  
          he can spontaneously settle all the things in the universe.
17. 42:3a ku-66 put *neng* kiu:4  
          with the result that it is not enduring.

It is evident that *hui*-73 conveys a sense of »knowing how to». In sentence 7 *hui*-73 is preceded by the auxiliary verb *pit61* »must», which is in accord with modern usage. Sentences 15–17 illustrate how *neng* expresses natural ability. In clauses with *neng* we often find the word *tsī-132* or *tsī-132 jan* »naturally, spontaneously».

## § 5. *Yao*.

*Yao* has several meanings in the literary language, the most common of which are »to seek, to demand, to force, important, essential». In the colloquial language it forms part of a number of binomes, e. g. *yao kin*:120 »important» (cf. II:E), *chu*:3 *yao* »vital points», *yao fan*-184 »to beg». Besides being a principal verb meaning »to want, to need», it is an auxiliary verb expressing wish, necessity or mere future. Chu Hi likewise employs *yao* as an auxiliary. In the majority of cases it expresses necessity. 7 sentences will suffice to illustrate Chu Hi's use of the auxiliary *yao*:

1. 6:1a chī:30 shī *yao* kien-147 tek hü:149 to36 tao-162 li:96  
          we must only perceive many principles.
2. 7:15a yitl ts'i;210 tul63 *yao* li:96 hui-73 tek  
          all must be paid attention to.
3. 6:43b shī *yao* li:96 hui-73 che-162 ko-118 tao-162 li:96  
          he must pay attention to these principles.
4. 3:13a put *yao* t'ien85 hü:149 to36 wu yik108 shuot149 hua-149  
          do not add a lot of useless talk!
5. 44:14b put *yao* sien10 yu yitl sīl15 yi-61 kok170 ai-112  
          do not let it be prepossessed by the divisive influence of selfish thought!
6. 16:3b put ts'eng;73 tao-162 wo:62 *yao* tso-9 put *yao* tso-9  
          he has not said: I want to do it, I do not want to do it.
7. 10:38a hop30 pien-9 shī-6 shī-6 tul63 *yao* hop30  
          when harmony is present, then everything will be harmony.

It is seen that the auxiliary *yao* signifies necessity in the first three sentences. Sentences of this type are fairly common. The same pertains to sentences like 4 and 5, in which *yao* is negated by *put*. These two sentences may be said to be in the imperative. In sentence 6 *yao* expresses a wish, and, finally, in 7 it indicates future. These two functions of *yao* are unusual in Chu Hi's language.

## CHAPTER VI

### PRONOUNS

#### § 1. *Che-162.*

The demonstrative *che-162* is a colloquial word which was used already in T'ang time.<sup>1)</sup> It has replaced *ts'i* and other literary demonstratives. *Ts'i* still exists in the colloquial language in idiomatic expressions like *ch'u;170 ts'i yi wai-36* »besides this«; *sui172 jan ju ts'i* »be that as it may«; *pi:60 ts'i* »each others«. *Ts'i* is further used in positions in which *che-162* may not be used alone, as e. g. in the object case: *ni:9 jok chii111 ts'i* »if you know this« or *ni:9 jok chii111 che-162 ko-118*, but not *ni:9 jok chii111 che-162*.

When dealing with the words *che-162* and *na-163*, we shall call them »demonstratives« without distinguishing »demonstrative pronouns« and »demonstrative adjectives«. *Che-162* may be called »near-demonstrative«, and *na-163* »remote-demonstrative«. *Che-162* may thus in many cases be rendered by »this«, and *na-163* by »that«. In cases when the relative nearness cannot be decided, the word *che-162* seems to be preferred. As in many Western languages, the demonstratives may be reduced to the rôle of mere definite articles, *che-162* and *na-163* often correspond to the definite article »the«. In the literary language the near-demonstratives *ts'i*, *shii* etc. are common but the remote-demonstrative *pi:60* is rare (cf. § 2). It is, then, only natural that in the old *pai hua* the instances of *che-162* should be far more numerous than those of *na-163*. Chu Hi employs *che-162* more than twice as much as he employs *na-163*. In the course of time this disproportion has been balanced. Nowadays *na-163* seems to be only slightly less frequent than *che-162*.

When *che-162* first came into use it was not written as it is now. According to Maspero<sup>2)</sup> the characters *che* (the literary auxiliary word in, for instance, *hüek39 che* »the learners«) and *che162* »to cover« were used before the character *che-162<sup>3)</sup>* existed. (The origin of this last character is obscure). Later on, these three characters were used alternatively, but now the first two have come out of use as the demonstrative *che-162* in the Mandarin language. *Che* still exists in this function, for instance in the Fukienese.

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>2)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>3)</sup> see Character Index.

Here follows a selection of the numerous sentences with *che-162* (written as it is now) in the Ts'üanshu:

*A. 1—3.*

1. 3:29a *che-162* chi:30 shi chü111 put ts'iet18  
this is due to incomplete knowledge.
2. 8:23b *che-162* k'üek26 shi hao:38 tik sin61  
this is however the good mind.  
ju tsai ts'i tso-32  
if you sit here . . .
3. 17:15a *che-162* ye chi:30 shi ou:9 jan shuot149 tek ju ts'i  
this was said in this way just by chance.

*B. 4—18.*

4. 2:23b tsü132 kia40 ts'ai;120 küek147 tek ju ts'i, *che-162 king-66 pien-9 tsai che-162 li:145*  
once you feel like this, then the (this) reverence is present (here).
5. 2:39a *che-162 shi-6* nan172 shuot149  
it is difficult to explain this.
6. 4:9a ju jen9 yu ts'i sin61 k'ü-28 tso-9 *che-162 shi-6 fang70 shi:38 ch'eng;62 che-162 shi-6*.  
if someone has his mind fixed on doing this, then and only then will he succeed in doing it (this).
7. 5:22a ts'ung;60 ku:30 lai9 tsü132 yu *che-162 yang-75 tsii*; hou-60 lai9 ts'i yang-75 shi-6 to36 yu  
from old times there was this pattern; afterwards this kind of thing became frequent.
8. 6:1b sü181 k'an-109 *che-162 ping-104 shi ju ho fat105*  
we must find out how this fault arose.
9. 6:18a *che-162 shi-6 ju kin9 si-9 nan172 shuot149 . . . ts'i ku-31 shi put tek*  
this matter is now — as it were — hard to explain . . . this truly will not do.
10. 6:30a *che-162 ch'eng;32 tsii yi:49 shi tsü132 kia40 tik liao*  
then this city is already mine.
11. 7:11b tsai *che-162 li:145 ye an40 tsai na-163 li:145 ye an40*  
here (i. e. poor circumstances) they were contented, there they were contented as well.
12. 8:20b *che-162 yang-75 tik yung:85 wu yüan;120 tso-9 tek hao:38 jen9*  
if like this, then he will never be a good man.
13. 8:21a *che-162 shuot149 hua-149 kik75 si-120*  
this exposition is very detailed.

14. 13:19b *che-162* put shī t'a9 k'an-109 *che-162* *tao-162* *li:96* tung-85 ch'et60, ju ho shuot149 tek *tao-18* *che-162* *li:145*  
if he did not understand this doctrine thoroughly, how could he explain it up to this point?
15. 42:2a ts'ing;61 pien-9 sī-9 k'ü-28 ts'in147 lin131 *che-162* *chik128* *shī-6*  
the feelings are like the personal attention to these duties.
16. 43:14b *che-162* *shui:85* chī:30 shī shuot149 k'i-84 chīt154  
water here is simply the physical element.
17. 43:33a *che-162* *ming-30* pien-9 sī-9 *hiang-30* *lai9* shuot149 jen9 sin61 siang109 sī-9  
the (this) decree is like what we have said before concerning man's mind.
18. 44:7b hia-1 *shao75* jok wu *che-162* *kuei77* *suk40* *ch'u-141* pien-9 ye wu *che-162* *yüan;10* liao  
if in the end there were no such return to rest, there would be no Yüan.

C. 19—21.

19. 3:29a chī111 tek *che-162* *ko-118* ch'et60 ti:53 shī and you know that this is entirely right.
20. 7:16b *che-162* *ko-118* pien-9 shī fat105 liao this has been manifested.
21. 23:36b yao *che-162* *ko-118* *yu-29* yao na-163 *ko-118* he wants this, and he wants that.

D. 22—35.

22. 8:2a *che-162* *ko-118* *wu93* *shī-6* tsik26 shī k'i-84 this materia is »k'i».
23. 8:2b *ts'i* *ko-118* *wut93* *shī-6* pien-9 san:66 then this materia is dissolved.
24. 9:4b *ts'i* *ko-118* *tao-162* *li:96* jen9 jen9 *yu* chī these principles everybody has.
25. 9:16b kok30 *yu* *che-162* *ko-118* *tao-162* *li:96* everybody has these principles.
26. 9:28b Wu:7 feng46 shuot149 tek *che-162* *shu-66* *kü-30* shen-99 hao:38 Wu-feng has worded these several sentences very well.
27. 10:27a jan kin9 *yu* *che-162* *yang-75* jen9 but nowadays there are this kind of people.
28. 18:42b ju shī:9 min85 k'ü-28 tso-9 *che-162* *kien-9* *shī-6* e. g. make the people do this thing.
29. 14:5b tsī-132 *kien-147* *che-162* *ko-118* *yi-61* one spontaneously sees this sense.
30. 16:10a *yu* *che-162* *pan137* *yi-61* sī-61 it has this meaning.

31. 17:5b pien-9 tsü-132 jan yu *che-162 pan*137 *k'i-84 siang*-152  
they spontaneously have this kind of manner.
32. 20:48b *ts'i yang*-75 *shuot*149 *hua*-149 Meng tsü shuot149 tek kik75 fen18 ming72  
this kind of speech Mencius put forth extremely clearly.
33. 25:6a *ts'i ko*-118 *tao*-162 *li*:96 chü-133 nan172  
this principle is most difficult.
34. 44:1a *che-162 pan*137 *so tsai tang*102 huot85 k'an-109  
passages of this kind need to be taken not too literally.
35. 48:4b *che-162 ko*-118 *wut*93 *shü*-6 fen18 put tek  
these things cannot be separated.

#### *E. 36—44.*

36. 6:3a sü181 *che-162 yit1 tuan*-79 t'ou-162 liao  
this section must be absorbed.
37. 8:22b so yi jung40 tsai *che-162 li*:145; *ts'i yit1 tuan*-79 wen;67 *yi*-61 kung12  
put ts'eng;73 shik149 tek  
therefore »jung« belongs here; you have not understood the meaning  
of this section.
38. 10:22a *che-162 yit1 tuan*-79 shü na-163 tso-9 tik  
this section is implied by that one.
39. 44:5a *ts'i yit1 tuan*-79 *shuot*149 *hua*-149 cheng-77 yao jen9 k'an-109  
this remark should be noted.
40. 45:13a *che-162 liang*:11 kü-30 shü yu t'ou;181 yu wei:44 *shuot*149 *hua*-149  
these two sentences are complete and sensible.
41. 8:13b shü yu *che-162 san*1 *yang*-75 *yi*-61 *sü*-61  
it has these three different meanings.
42. 11:28a weih hiao:72 tek *che-162 yit1 kien*-9 shü-6 k'ü-28 wen-30 jen9 ju ho tso-9  
if you do not understand this matter, go and ask someone how to act.
43. 42:7a chü-30 shü *che-162 yit1 ko*-118 *tao*-162 *li*:96  
it is nothing but this single principle.
44. 7:27a ts'ie:1 ju *che-162 yit1 kien*-9 shü-6 chü111 tek put tang102 ju ts'i tso-9  
as this particular matter, you know you ought not to act like this.

#### *A. 1—3.*

Here *che-162* (*ts'i*) is alone, and it is the subject of the clause. Chu Hi does not allow the independent *che-162* to be the object or to be preceded by a preposition. This is in accordance with the modern language (cf. beginning of this paragraph). In all three sentences the predicate is the copula *shü*, and this is the rule when Chu Hi employs *che-162* alone. *Che-162* and *ts'i* when used alone do not refer to a person.

#### *B. 4—18.*

Here *che-162* is followed by a noun without a classifier. This is very common in Chu Hi's colloquial language, more so than in the modern *pai hua*. The localizers

*che-162 li:145, tsai che-162 li:145 »here»* are very frequently used by Chu Hi (4, 11, 14). I have not found any instances of *che-162 mo* »so, thus, in this way» in the Ts'üanshu, although Chu Hi must have known of this construction as it occurs in the Buddhist texts of T'ang time.<sup>1)</sup> Chu Hi uses *che-162 yang-75*, which has about the same sense, and which is also current in the present-day language. Contrary to modern usage Chu Hi employs *ts'i* in various constructions. In, e.g., sentences 6 and 7, in which both *che-162* and *ts'i* appear, these two words seem to have the same force. In the modern colloquial language *ts'i* is not used before a noun or before a classifier. But Chu Hi often employs *che-162* in one clause, and then in the next *ts'i* in the same sense and in a similar construction.

#### C. 19—21.

In these sentences *che-162* is adjoined to the classifier *ko-118*. *Che-162 ko-118* may be in the subject case (19 and 20), or in the object case (21). There are no instances of *che-162 ko-118* being placed after a preposition, without a following noun. In the modern language *che-162* + classifier may be preceded by a preposition, e.g. *tui-41 yü che-162 ko-118* »as to this». *Che-162 ko-118* is fairly frequent in Chu Hi's language, and it generally functions as the subject.

#### D. 22—35.

Here we meet with *che-162* + classifier + noun. The words *shu-66* (26), *yang-75* (27 and 32), *pan137* (31) have here been treated as classifiers, as they here have the position and rôle of classifiers. This is the type of construction in which *che-162* most frequently occurs in the modern language. Chu Hi also often uses it, but type B. is still more current in his language. If we look for instances of *che-162* in a modern *pai hua* text, we shall again and again find it adjoined to the word *sie7*. The phrase *che-162 sie7* indicates plural number. We now and then meet with this phrase in Chu Hi's language as well. This feature will, however, be dealt with when discussing *sie7* in chapter VIII: 2. A few sentences with *ts'i* have also been included here (23, 24, 32, 33) in order to illustrate how *che-162* and *ts'i* are interchangeable in Chu Hi's colloquial language except when *che-162* occurs alone (cf. A).

#### E. 36—44.

In these sentences *che-162 (ts'i)* is followed by a numeral which in its turn is followed either by a noun or by a classifier (+ a noun). The word *yit1* »one» is emphatic, it may be translated »one, single, particular» or be left untranslated. Chu Hi uses the phrase *che-162 yit1 tuan-79* alternatively with *ts'i yit1 tuan-79* »this one section» extremely often.

\* \* \*

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

From the sentences discussed above we may conclude that Chu Hi must have been quite familiar with the colloquial demonstrative *che-162*. On the whole he employs it in about the same way as it is used today. We have further seen that his use of *ts'i* is much more varied than it is in the northern Mandarin language. *Ts'i* obviously belongs to the colloquial language of the twelfth century, not only as a literary remnant used in stereotyped phrases as it is today. *Ts'i* is far more frequent in Chu Hi's language than *che-162* (I am now referring only to passages which are otherwise colloquial).

*Che-162* does not occur as often as some other colloquial words like *tek*, *liao*, and *tik*. Most of the instances of *che-162* are to be found in the Yülei, but we find quite a few of them in the Wentsi. In the Kin sī lu there are also cases of *che-162*.

## § 2. *Na-163*.

The character for *na-163* existed already in Chou time. It was originally a place name, and it was also a phonetic loan for words meaning »beautiful, in regard to, how«. From T'ang time on it is the »remote-demonstrative» in the colloquial language.<sup>1)</sup> *Na-163* replaced the literary *pi:60*, the use of which was very restricted in the literary language. *Pi:60*, which was used as the opposite to *ts'i*, has lived on in the colloquial language in expressions like *pi:60 ts'i yu ts'ok167* »there are faults on both sides», *pi:60 ts'i siang109 ai-61* »to love one another». In Chu Hi's language *pi:60* occurs now and then also in passages reflecting his colloquial. It is never adjoined to a classifier, and it is generally a counterpart to *ts'i*.

In the preceding paragraph it was stated that *che-162* is far more frequent than *na-163*. When Chu Hi employs *na-163* he as a rule allows it to be a counterpart to *che-162*, for when looking for *na-163* in his sayings we shall in most cases find a *che-162* either in the preceding or in the subsequent clause. In the present-day language *na-163* appears in the same kinds of constructions as *che-162* does. We shall see that the same pertains to *na-163* in the Chu Hi sentences, with one isolated exception.

Here follow a number of sentences with *na-163*, arranged in the same way as the sentences in § 1:

A. I have found no instances of this category.

B. 1—9.

1. 8:5a ho yüan;120 tao-18 tek *na-163* ti-32 wei-9  
How can he reach that position?
2. 1:20a hüek39 sü181 sien10 li:96 hui-73 *na-163* ta-37 tik . . . . . tsiang41 lai9  
*na-163* li:145 mien-176 siao:42 tik  
the learner must first understand those important principles . . . . then  
(those) the smaller ones which are implied . . .

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

3. 11:23b sü18l' k'an-109 tek *na-163 jen9* kuo:75 shī ju ho  
one must find out how that man is, after all.
4. 21:11b tsek hop30 *na-163 tao-162 li:96* ye shun-181 liao  
then he accords with that principle too.
5. 45:6b sui;170 *na-163 chung:115* fat105 ch'ut17 put t'ung;30  
then the (that) seed develops in different ways.
6. 45:16a yi-61 ju jen9 k'ü-28 shī:9 *na-163 chou137 kū159* yit1 pan137  
motive is like the man's use of those boats and carriages.
7. 47:1a *na-163 pien162* ju pi:60 shuot149, che-162 pien162 ju ts'i shuot149  
there it is expounded in that way, here in this way.
8. 47:12a jen9:7 yi9 kiu-134 chi:30 tsai *na-163 li:145*  
we find »jen» present as before.
9. 47:13a lun-149 chok li:96 lai9 ts'i-132 tsai *na-163 li:145*  
according to the principle of the thing it is present (there).

C. 10—11.

10. 3:29a *na-163 ko-118 ch'et60* tik:53 put shī  
that is completely wrong.
11. 16:9a *na-163 ko-118* shuot149 tek k'uot169  
that one (the former) he said in a wide sense.

D. 12—15.

12. 12:23b jan t'ung:120 t'i:188 pien-9 tu163 chi:30 shi *na-163 ko-118 jen9:7*  
but taken together they are all that (one) »jen».
13. 13:22a yüan;120 *na-163 yang-75 jen9* tu163 pien-9 jup11 fot9 lao:125 k'ü-28  
liao  
for that kind of people have all gone to the Buddhists and Taoists.
14. 22:2a *na-163 hū:149 to36 put hao:38 king:72 siang-152* tu163 ts'i-132 put kien-  
147 liao  
those many bad circumstances are not perceived.
15. 46:14a jan *na-163 hū:149 to36 tao-162 i:96* pien-9 tu163 tsai che-162 shang-1  
but those many principles are all to be found here.

E. 16—17.

16. 43:13b chi:30 shī t'i:64 k'i:156 *na-163 yit1 kū-30* shuot149  
it is simply a quotation of that sentence.
17. 12:50b tan-9 *na-163 yit1 kien-9 shī-6* chi li-18 shaol115 chung-166 tek fen-18  
hao;152  
but the advantage of the thing is somewhat greater.

A.

As already stated, I have not been able to find any sentence with the independent *na-163*.

### B. 1—9.

These sentences are, on the whole, analogous to those under B in § 1. Sentence 7 is an illustration of *na-163* and *che-162*, *pi:60* and *ts'i* being used in opposition to each other. As was the case with *che-162*, this is the type of construction in which *na-163* most often appears.

### C. 10—11.

Sentence 10 is a dependent clause belonging to *chü111 tek* in sentence 37 § 1. Thus again an example of *che-162* and *na-163* being counterparts. Like *che-162 ko-118* (without a following noun), *na-163 ko-118* may be either in subject or object position but not preceded by a preposition (cf. § 1:C).

### D. 12—15.

These sentences are, as far as the demonstrative is concerned, on the whole analogous to those under D in § 1. It should, however, be noted that the quantity word *hü:149 to36* »many» in 14 and 15 now and then follows *na-163* but not *che-162* (cf. ch. VIII:2).

### E. 16—17.

Sentences of this type — with a numeral following *na-163* (cf. § 1:E) — are very rare indeed, and they do not seem to be very common in the modern language either.

\* \* \*

We have seen that, with one exception, *na-163* occurs in the same contexts as *che-162* does. Chu Hi uses *na-163* relatively seldom. On the whole he is very economical in his use of »remote-demonstratives», which is in accord with the literary language. As already stated, when *na-163* occurs, we generally find a *che-162* in the preceding or the subsequent clause.

## § 3. *Tu163*.

The original meaning of the character *tu163* is »capital city», and it still has this meaning, in e. g. the binome *tu163 ch'eng;32* »capital city». *Tu163* was also used as a loan for homonymous words meaning »island in a marsh», »elegant», and an interjection of admiration. *Tu163* occurs in the sense of »all» already in texts from the Liu-ch'ao period,<sup>1)</sup> and it is very common in this sense in the present-day colloquial language. *Tu163* corresponds exactly to *kie106* of the literary language, and when it refers to two persons or things it has the meaning of »both». *Tu163* cannot precede the noun it modifies.

<sup>1)</sup> cf. Kao Ming-k'ai, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

The literary *kie106* »all», just mentioned, is quite common in Chu Hi's colloquial language, for he uses it in expressions otherwise revealing colloquial features. *Kie106* is today heard in high-flown speech only.

Below are a number of sentences illustrating Chu Hi's use of the word *tu163*, and a couple of sentences with *kie106*:

**A. 1—13.**

1. 2:18b *tu163* put sī61 liang166, chī:30 shī sin-9 k'ou:30 hu;130 shuot149  
they are all thoughtless and just talk at random.
2. 3:24b *kie106* shī jen9 shen158 tsī-132 yu tik  
they are all things that the human body naturally possesses.
3. 3:24b *tu163* chī111 shī shan-30 hao:38 tso-9  
all know that it is right to do the good.
4. 3:28a ta-37 hüek39 shuot149 kok75 wut93 *tu163* chī:30 shī yao jen9 kien-147  
tek t'ou-162  
when »Ta hüek» expounds the investigation of affairs and things,  
it is all in order to make people understand thoroughly.
5. 6:33a *tu163* shī kik75 nan172 k'an-109 tik wen;67 tsī-39  
they (Ch'un ts'iü, Yi king) are all writings which are extremely difficult  
to read.
6. 8:26b *tu163* put shīk149 che-162 yang-75 yi-61 sī-61  
they all do not recognize this kind of idea.
7. 23:12b *tu163* ts'ung;60 na-163 ken75 shang-1 fat105 ch'ut17 lai9  
they all proceed from that root.
8. 23:13a *tu163* kok30 yu yit1 ch'ung;166 kok170 liao  
they all have some obstruction.
9. 30:47a *tu163* shī che-162 yit1 ko-118 yi-61 sī-61  
all has this one sense.
10. 35:7b *tu163* shī pei-145 t'a9 huai-32 liao  
all was spoiled by him.
11. 43:27b *tu163* shī t'ien37 so ming-30  
all are decreed by Heaven (poverty, wealth, long life, short life).
12. 46:3a *tu163* tsik26 shī che-162 yit1 ko-118 tao-162 li:96  
in all there has been but this one principle.
13. 55:3a *tu163* put k'en:130 tsī-132 k'ü-28 chok lik19 tuk149 shu73  
they are all not willing to make efforts on their own in studying.

**B. 14—27.**

14. 1:18b li:145 mien-176 k'üek26 *tu163* shī sīl15 yi-61 liao  
but the inside is all selfish.
15. 9:20a shī-6 shī-6 *kie106* ts'ung;60 ts'i tso-9 k'ü-28  
everything starts from this.

16. 10:38a hop30 pien-9 shi-6 shi-6 *tu163* yao hop30  
when harmony is present, then everything is harmony.
17. 49:14a shi-6 shi-6 wut93 wut93 *kie106* yu ko-118 kik75  
all phenomena have an ultimate.
18. 22:25b jen9 jen9 *tu163* tao-162 shi hao:38 jen9 jen9 *kie106* chil11 ai-61 k'i ts'in147  
people all say this is good, people all know they must love their parents.
19. 16:26b ta-37 lun9 *tu163* luan-5 liao  
the great relations are all confused.
20. 19:5a yüan;10 lai9 ping-104 ken75 *tu163* tsai che-162 li:145  
originally the causes of the trouble lie all in this.
21. 21:23a che-162 *tu163* nan172 shuot149  
these are all difficult sayings.
22. 14:1b fan;16 shi-6 *tu163* yao ju ts'i  
all things should be like this.
23. 25:2a kin9 jen9 *tu163* shuot149 tek ch'a48 liao  
modern scholars all explain it in a wrong way.
24. 42:26a jen9 ü wut93 *tu163* yit1 pan137  
man and other creatures are all alike in this respect.
25. 42:32b ts'ao:140 muk75 *tu163* shi tek yin170 k'i-84, tsou:156 fei183 *tu163* shi tek yang;170 k'i-84  
things in the vegetable kingdom all receive the »Yin K'i», while those of the animal kingdom all receive the »Yang K'i».
26. 47:2a tsü-132 jan *tu163* shi che-162 yi-61 si-61  
all is obviously this very idea.
27. 21:30b liang:11 ko-118 *tu163* shi ts'i yang-64 jen9  
they were both this kind of people.

#### C. 28—31.

28. 1:1b ta-37 kang120 *tu163* hüek39 liao  
All the chief points we have studied.
29. 7:15a jok nan172 hiao:72 yi-72 hiao:72 tik yit1 ts'i;210 *tu163* yao li:96 hui-73 tek  
if one wants to grasp it all at once — what is difficult as well as what is easy to understand.
30. 46:14a *tu163* yit1 ts'i;210 li:96 hui-73  
when you pay attention to them all alike.
31. 6:60a t'a9 *tu163* shuot149 tek yi-61 si-61 tsai ts'ien;18 mien-176 liao  
the idea of what he has related may be found in the beginning (of the work).

*D. 32.*

32. 22:25b che-162 sin61 hia-1 k'an-109 shenmo tao-162 li:96 *tu163* yu chī  
we observe that in this mind there are principles of any kind.

*A. 1—13.*

In all these sentences *tu163* (or *kie106*) introduces the clause. Another feature common to them all is that *tu163* is the subject. *Tu163* replaces a person, a thing, or a whole clause. We further notice that in many clauses the copula *shī* functions as the predicate (4,5,9,10,11). Sentences 2 and 3 stand very close to each other in the text. The sentence with *kie106* has been included in order to illustrate how Chu Hi uses this word in a clause with the colloquial particle *tik*. Chu Hi often employs *tu163* and *kie106* indiscriminately like this. Now, it is true that in these two sentences *tu163* and *kie106* have different antecedents, *tu163* referring to a person and *kie106* to a thing, but we might just as easily find cases in which *kie106* refers to persons and *tu163* to things. In sentence 8 *tu163* is followed by the indefinite pronoun *kok30*. It is remarkable that Chu Hi so often allows *tu163* to be in an initial position. This is not so common in the present-day language, for when *tu163* here refers to people mentioned in a previous clause, then a personal pronoun as a rule precedes *tu163*.

*B. 14—27.*

*Tu163* belongs to the subject here as well. It is in most cases preceded by a noun. One exception is sentence 21, in which *tu163* follows after the demonstrative *che-162*. This is an unusual construction in Chu Hi's language. In the modern language *tu163* very often follows after a personal pronoun in the plural, e. g. *ni:9 men9 tu163* »you all». I have not found any instance of this type in Chu Hi's language. That this is so is quite natural, since Chu Hi hardly ever uses the plural sign *men9*, but he does not even allow *tu163* to emphasize a personal pronoun which has a singular form but a plural sense, e. g. *t'a9 tu163* »they all». The other sentence in which *tu163* is not preceded by a noun is 26. Here *tu163* comes after an adverb, and it refers to what has been said in a previous clause in the text. In sentences 15—18 we meet with *tu163* (*kie106*) preceded by a reduplicated noun: *shi-6 shi-6* »everything»; *shi-6 shi-6 wut93 wut93* »every phenomenon»; *jen9 jen9* »everybody». *Tu163* (*kie106*) thus emphasizes the comprehensive meaning of these words. Sentence 18 is another illustration of *tu163* and *kie106* being used interchangeably. In sentence 15 *shi-6 shi-6* is followed by *kie106*, and in 16 by *tu163*, and *shi-6 shi-6 wut93 wut93* in 17 by *kie106*. The general tendency seems to be that *shi-6 shi-6* takes *tu163*, and *shi-6 shi-6 wut93 wut93* takes *kie106*. The *jan;16 shi-6* is often followed by *tu163*, which is the case in the modern language as well. Sentence 27 shows that Chu Hi in accordance with modern usage allows *tu163* to refer to two persons.

### C. 28—31.

Here *tu163* forms part of the object. In 29 and 30 *yit1 ts'i;210* occurs. This expression means »all at once». *Tu163* may either precede or follow *yit1 ts'i;210*. In the modern language *yit1 ts'i;210* often precedes *tu163*. I have not found any instances of *kie106* forming part of the object.

### D. 32.

Here *tu163* has a special function. Together with the pronoun *shenmo* it means »any». This construction with *shenmo* and *tu163* — so common today — is extremely unusual in Chu Hi's colloquial language. I have only found a few sporadic cases. The construction *shenmo tu163 put* »nothing» — so often met with in the present-day language — is entirely missing.

\* \* \*

We have seen that Chu Hi's use of the indefinite pronoun *tu163* in some respects differs from that of the present-day language. It has further been said that Chu Hi often uses *tu163* and *kie106* alternatively in his colloquial language. There are instances of *tu163* in the Wentsi, and in the Kin sī lu as well. Some stray instances of *tu163* are to be found in passages by the Ch'eng brothers and the other Neo-Confucianists.

## § 4. *Shenmo*.

The literary word *shen-99* »every» is read *shen;99* when used as a pronoun, alone or with the particle *mo* affixed to it. The interrogative and indefinite pronoun *shenmo* is very common indeed in modern Mandarin. It was current already in T'ang time.<sup>1)</sup> *Shenmo* may be used alone or may precede any kind of noun. It may be the subject, the object, a predicative or enter into a prepositional construction. Chu Hi is fairly familiar with *shenmo*, although, as we shall see presently, his use of it does not entirely accord with that of modern Mandarin.

The following sentences will illustrate Chu Hi's use of this pronoun:

### A. 1—5.

1. 11:17a put chī11 shī shuot149 *shenmo*  
I do not know what it means.
2. 18:23b tsī-132 kia40 k'üek26 tsai che-162 li:145 tso-9 *shenmo*  
but what shall we do in this case?
3. 47:18b yu-29 keng-73 tso-9 *shenmo*  
what would it accomplish?

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

4. 21:29b keng-73 shuot149 *shenmo*  
what more should we say?
5. 35:30b er put k'o chi:64 shuot149 tao-162 *shenmo shi tek60*  
. . . but we cannot indicate what virtue is.

**B. 6—16.**

6. 10:1a weih shuot149 ts'i shi yao li:96 hui-73 *shenmo wut93*.  
he did not say what (particular) matter should be considered.
7. 15:4a tek60 shi *shenmo wut93 shi-6*  
what is virtue?
8. 20:44a ts'i shi *shenmo yang-75 k'i-84 siang-152*  
what kind of manner is this?
9. 20:78a che-162 kien-147 tek sheng-128 hien;154 shi *shenmo yang-64 ta-37 lik19 liang-166*  
in this we see what kind of great resources the sages had.
10. 34:18a yu-29 k'ü-28 li:96 hui-73 *shenmo ling173 ling173 sui-112 sui-112*  
what miscellaneous material shall we pay attention to, then?
11. 48:24a jok sin61 put shi40, fat105 ch'ut17 lai9 keng-73 yu *shenmo wut93 shi-6*  
if the mind itself is unreal, what can there be in the way of real things  
in its manifestations?
12. 57:39a ts'üan;11 put fan:29 ki:49 ts'ie:1 tao-162 wo:62 shi *shenmo jen9*  
if we do not turn into ourselves and say: what kind of a man am I?
13. 7:5a yu *shenmo shi-6* put chi111, yu *shenmo shi-6* put hiao:72, yu *shenmo tao-162 li:96* put kü-12 tsai che-162 li:145  
what does it not know, what does it not understand, what principles  
are not present in it?
14. 3:10b k'an-109 *shenmo wut93 shi-6 lai9*  
whatever we see . . .
15. 48:3a k'an-109 *shenmo shi-6 lai9*  
whatever it is that presents itself to us.
16. 42:29b jan shao86 *shenmo muk75 tsek shi shenmo k'i-84*  
whatever kind of wood we burn, it will have its own fragrance.

**C. 17—24.**

17. 11:5a wu ts'i chung:115 sheng100 ko-118 *shenmo*  
if the seed is not there, what life will there be?
18. 12:23b keng-73 lun-149 liang166 ko-118 *shenmo*  
what more does it discuss?
19. 12:27b keng-73 shuot149 ko-118 *shenmo*  
what more shall I say?

20. 13:3b sī shī chī:64 *ko-118 shenmo*  
           what does »sī« refer to?
21. 23:2a jok put chī111 tek k'üek26 tsin-108 *ko-118 shenmo*  
           if we do not know it (the mind), what are we to exhaust, then?
22. 47:14a hia-35 lai9 chang:168 *ko-118 shenmo*  
           what growth could there be in summer?
23. 6:29a sūl81 yao sī-61 liang166 sheng-128 jen9 chī yen;149 shī shuot149 *ko-118 shenmo*  
           it is necessary to deliberate the words of the Sage (and find out) what they express.
24. 42:6b sūl81 yao sien10 shīk149 tek sing-61 shī *ko-118 shenmo yang-75 wut93 shī-6*  
           it is important first of all to know what kind of entity Nature is.

#### A. 1—5.

Here *shenmo* is not followed by any noun. In sentences 1—4 *shenmo* is placed at the end of the clause, and it is the object. In sentence 5 it is the subject. It is evident that here we have the interrogative *shenmo*, all five sentences being questions, either direct or indirect. Chu Hi seldom uses *shenmo* alone, and with only a few verbs: *shuot149*, *tso-9* and the copula *shī*. In direct questions with *shenmo* the modern language generally has the final interrogative particle *ni30*. Chu Hi never uses this final particle.

#### B. 6—16.

In these sentences also *shenmo* is interrogative, although there is no interrogative pronoun in the translation in sentences 14—16. *Shenmo* is adjoined to a noun, and together with this it functions as an object or a predicative. I have not found any instances of the type: *che-162 shī shenmo jen9 shuot149 tik* »who has said this?« with *shenmo jen9* in subject position. The noun following *shenmo* may be of any kind, animate or inanimate. The number of principal verbs occurring in the clause with the *shenmo* phrase is not so restricted as in group A.

#### C. 17—24.

Here the general classifier *ko-118* precedes the interrogative *shenmo*, which is attributive in only one case, sentence 24. Sentences 17—22 are direct questions, and the remaining two indirect questions. The preceding *ko-118* does not seem to make any difference to the meaning. Under A it was said that *shenmo* alone was used with only a very limited number of verbs, while — as can be seen from the above examples — *ko-118 shenmo* may be the object of a variety of verbs; in fact, the independent *shenmo* occurs far more seldom than the *ko-118 shenmo*. The attributive *ko-118 shenmo* in 24 — on the other hand — is quite unusual. *Ko-118 shenmo* occurs in the modern *pai hua*, both as an interrogative and as an

indefinite pronoun, e. g. *che-162 shī ko-118 shenmo tung75 si146* »what is this?», *meit yu ko-118 shenmo tung75 si146 tsai che-162 li:145* »there is nothing (particular) here». Chu Hi, however, does not use *ko-118 shenmo* as an indefinite pronoun. Chu Hi does not allow *ko-118 shenmo* to refer to a person, nor to function as the subject of a clause. This colloquial feature existed in T'ang time.<sup>1)</sup>

\* \* \*

We have seen that *shenmo* in Chu Hi's colloquial language functions as an interrogative pronoun. It is not — so far as I have been able to find — an indefinite pronoun. Examples of the type *yu shenmo jen9 tsai yūan-170 tī li:145 teng:118 chok* »there is somebody waiting in the yard» do not exist. In the modern language *shenmo* is very often preceded by a preposition, e. g. *tsai shenmo ti-32 fang70 ni30* »where»; *wei shenmo* »why». Chu Hi, however, does not use these phrases, and I have, in fact, only found one single sentence in which *shenmo* is preceded by a preposition: *chī:30 put chī111 yīn31 shenmo shī:72 ning15 liao* (49:19b) »but I do not know when it was accomplished».

The total number of *shenmo* in the Yülei is not very large. There are not more than some hundred cases of it in the whole Ts'üanshu. Out of these just a few isolated cases are to be found in the Wentsi. In the Kin sī lu there are likewise some cases.

### § 5. *Shen;99.*

In the old Mandarin *shen;99* alone served as an interrogative and an indefinite pronoun. It is very frequent in the famous Ming and Ts'ing novels except for Hung lou meng.<sup>2)</sup> Now it is obsolete. Maspero says that *shen;99* is rarely used alone in the Buddhist T'ang texts.<sup>3)</sup> The same pertains to Chu Hi's language. He employs *shen;99* more seldom than *shenmo*.

Here follow a few examples from the Yülei:

1. 42:6a jan sūl81 k'an-109 yīn31 *shen;99* huan-30 tsok9 sing-61, yīn31 *shen;99* huan-30 tsok-30 tao-162  
but we need to understand why the term »sing» is used, and why the term »tao» is used.
2. 7:2a shī li:96 hui-73 *shen;99* shī-6  
what things they paid attention to.
3. 10:43b yu *shen;99* yī-61 sī-61  
what sense does that have?

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>2)</sup> B. Karlgren, *New Excursions in Chinese Grammar*, pp. 67, 68.

<sup>3)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

4. 8:36a tsi-85 *shen*;99 *shi*-6  
of what help would it be?
5. 43:32b *shen*;99 *ch'u*-141 tso-9 tek, *shen*;99 *ch'u*-141 tso-9 put tek  
where can one succeed, where not?
6. 34:10a put ch'i111 Kan99 P'an;108 shi *shen*;99 *yang*-64 *jen*9  
I do not know what kind of a man Kan P'an was.
7. 7:20a che-162 ko-118 k'iung;116 tek *ko*-118 *shen*;99 *tao*-162 *li*:96  
what principle does this exhaust?
8. 27:4a k'an-109 *shen*;99 *wut*93 lai9 tu163 neng chao-86 tek  
it (a mirror) can reflect all objects it comes in contact with.
9. 1:14b ku-66 put lun-149 *shen*;99 *wut*93 *shü*-6 kie106 t'ou-162 kuo-162  
no matter what things, they may all be penetrated.

From the above sentences it can be seen that *shen*;99 is used in the same kind of constructions as *shenmo*, and that it is interrogative, although there is no interrogative in the translation of the two last sentences. In sentence 1 we are confronted with *yin*31 *shen*;99 »why», which is an isolated case. In this sentence *shen*;99 is independent, whereas it is attributive in all the other sentences. Like *shenmo*, *shen*;99 may be preceded by the general classifier *ko*-118 (7). In sentence 8 we meet with the construction *shen*;99 . . . *tu*163 »all». In sentence 9 we find the phrase *put lun*-149 *shen*;99 »no matter what». *Put lun*-149 *shenmo* is very common in the modern language, but Chu Hi does not use that phrase.

## § 6. *Na*:163, *ki*:52, *to*36 *shao*:42, *tsen*:61

### A. *Na*:163.

The interrogative *na*:163, though occurring sporadically in some fairly late literary texts, is essentially a pronoun in the colloquial language. Chu Hi employs it now and then:

1. 43:6a sing-61 *na*:163 *li*:145 *yu* san1 p'in:30 lai9  
where can you get three grades in original Nature?
2. 9:22b piet18 keng-73 *na*:163 *yu* *tao*-162 *li*:96  
where is there another norm?
3. 44:34b *na*:163 tek *ko*-118 *jen*9 *tsai* shang-1 *mien*-176 *fen*18 *fu*-9 *che*-162 *ko*-118  
where in Heaven do we find a personal being commanding what is below?

Chu Hi generally uses the interrogative *na*:163 in the sense of »where». It may be used attributively as well as independently.

### B. Ki:52.

The word *ki:52* is also used as an interrogative in the literary language. We find it performing this function already in Mencius. *Ki:52* is quite common in the modern language, both as an interrogative and as an indefinite pronoun. It is not very common in Chu Hi's language:

4. 2:3a *ki:52 shi;72 tek*  
when shall we succeed?
5. 40:6a *tan-9 put chi111 ki:52 shi;72*  
but I do not know when.
6. 35:50b *shi ki:52 ko-118 jen9 put hao:38 liao*  
there were several people who were bad.
7. 36:16a *che-162 ki:52 kū-30 k'üek26 shi Tso-48 shi-83 tsī-132 shuot149*  
but these sentences are said by Tso shi himself.

It can be seen from the above examples that Chu Hi employs *ki:52* both as an interrogative and as an indefinite pronoun. It is only in an attributive position. That *ki:52* has a really colloquial value in his language is seen from sentences 6 and 7, in which it appears together with the general classifier *ko-118* (6) and with the colloquial demonstrative *che-162* (7). *Ki:52* sometimes occurs in passages that are quotations and in questions put by Chu Hi's disciples.

### C. To36 shao:42.

The colloquial *to36 shao:42* »show many», and »some, several» is also occasionally employed by Chu Hi, but, as far as I can see, only in the indefinite sense:

8. 7:7b *king-66 yik8 yu to36 shao:42 pan137*  
there are several kinds of »king».
9. 55:13a *yu to36 shao:42 shuot149 hua-149*  
there are several sayings.

### D. Ts'en:61 etc.

The interrogative *ts'en:61* occurs very often in the modern language in expressions like *ts'en:61 mo* »show», *ts'en:61 yang-75* »how». There are only a few sporadic cases of *ts'en:61* in Chu Hi's Yülei. The phrase *ts'en:61 mo* is entirely absent:

10. 27:19b *sü181 k'an-109 . . . yi ts'ien;18 shi ts'en:61 mu75 yang-64*  
we must examine how it was before.
11. 20:48b *put chi111 Meng tsí ts'en:61 sheng100 sün;41 tek che-162 sī-31 ko-118 tsī-39*  
I do not know how Mencius found these four words.
12. 30:37a *yu-29 tsok9 mo sheng100*  
and how?

13. 36:16a k'üek<sup>26</sup> yao hia-1 ko-118 shi:111 tsü-39 tsek mo  
but how would it be if we put down the word »shi?»

The expression *tsen*;<sup>61</sup> *sheng*<sup>100</sup> in sentence 11 is met with now and then. Two other interrogatives have been included here: *tsok*<sup>9</sup> *mo sheng*<sup>100</sup> »how» in sentence 12, and *tsek mo* »how» in sentence 13. The former occurs in the T'ang texts referred to before.<sup>1)</sup> There are only a few cases of these two interrogative expressions in the Ts'üanshu.

## § 7. Personal pronouns

Before closing this chapter on pronouns we shall give a brief account of Chu Hi's use of the personal pronouns. In accordance with the literary language — and with the modern as well — personal pronouns seldom occur as subject of the clause, the subject having to be understood from the context and not being expressed. Chu Hi employs the personal pronouns that are most common in the present-day language. We shall give a number of sentences in which personal pronouns occur:

### A. 1—12.

1. 1:12b *mou*:75 k'an-109 lai<sup>9</sup> yu shen-99 nan<sup>172</sup>  
I consider it very difficult.
2. 14:2b kü-64 *mou*:75 k'an-109  
in my view.
3. 6:3a kai-140 tsü-132 *kia*<sup>40</sup> neng ch'ang;<sup>50</sup> ch'ang;<sup>50</sup> ts'un;<sup>39</sup> tek ts'i sin<sup>61</sup>  
therefore, if we can always preserve this mind . . .
4. 1:24b *wu*:<sup>30</sup> ju<sup>9</sup> *kia*<sup>40</sup> jok kien-147 tek tao-162 li:<sup>96</sup> t'ou-162  
if we Confucianists understand the principles.
5. 10:9a *wu*:<sup>30</sup> ki yüü t'a<sup>9</sup> kung-12 chüll<sup>11</sup> tek che-162 ko-118 tao-162 li:<sup>96</sup>  
since we and they all know this principle.
6. 8:36a *wo*:<sup>62</sup> che-162 li:<sup>145</sup> sui<sup>172</sup> neng hing<sup>134</sup> k'i:<sup>156</sup> k'i shan-30 sin<sup>61</sup>  
even if we can arouse his good heart.
7. 57:39a ts'ie:<sup>1</sup> tao-162 *wo*:<sup>62</sup> shi shenmo jen<sup>9</sup>  
and say: »what kind of a man am I?»
8. 2:12b tsai *wo*:<sup>62</sup> shou:<sup>64</sup> li:<sup>145</sup>  
in my hands.
9. 40:30b t'ien<sup>37</sup> ti-32 na-162 li:<sup>145</sup> shuot<sup>149</sup> *wo*:<sup>62</sup> t'ek<sup>93</sup> tik yao sheng<sup>100</sup>  
ko-118 sheng-128 hien;<sup>154</sup> ch'ut<sup>17</sup> lai<sup>9</sup>  
whenever Heaven and Earth say: we intend to produce a saint . . .
10. 25:13a yik<sup>8</sup> chi:<sup>30</sup> shi tsiang<sup>41</sup> *wo*:<sup>62</sup> tsi-132 sii<sup>61</sup> liang<sup>166</sup> tek tik tao-162 li:<sup>96</sup>,  
tsü-132 chi-85 *wo*:<sup>62</sup> chi shen<sup>158</sup> er yi:<sup>49</sup>  
it is to take the principles I myself have thought out and then control  
myself.

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

11. 57:11b che-162 t'ien;102 ti-32 yüan;10 put shī wo:62 tik  
this area originally was not mine.
12. 25:13a yu-29 put shī fen18 wo:62 tik tao-162 li:96 yüü t'a9  
again it is not applying my principles to him.

**B. 13—19.**

13. 18:7a put ch'eng;62 shuot149 ni:9 pien-9 put shī sheng-128 jen9  
it will not do to say that since you are not a holy man . . .
14. 19:22a sül181 yao ni:9 tsī-132 sin-9  
it is necessary that you should be spontaneously honest.
15. 25:13a chī:30 shī yüü t'a9 shuot149 ni:9 che-162 put shī; ni:9 pen:75 yu tsī  
hiao-39  
just to say to him: you are wrong in this; you fundamentally have  
filial piety.
16. 36:25a put yao kien-147 tek wo:62 shī ni:9 put shī  
we must not think: »I am right, you are wrong».
17. 65:6a ni:9 p'ing;51 jit72 tsī-132 shī-147 wei ju ho  
how do you ordinarily look at yourself?
18. 17:12b ni:9 jok put ts'ung;60 t'a9, t'a9 pien-9 shat79 liao ni:9  
if you do not obey him, then he will kill you.
19. 22:2b kung12 sül181 yüü t'a9 sī61 liang166 tek ko-118 tao-162 li:96  
you must think out a principle together with him.

**C. 20—37.**

20. 61:22b k'an-109 t'a9 shī to36 shao:42 ts'ung128 ming72  
look how clever he (Yen tsī) was.
21. 12:32a ye put kan:66 pao:9 t'a9 yu jen9:7  
yet one dare not guarantee that he has »jen».
22. 6:32b pien-9 chī111 t'a9 ts'ok167 liao  
then we know that he is wrong.
23. 13:22a shī t'a9 tsī-132 chan-25 p'ien;9 yi;40 ch'u-141  
it is he himself that takes advantage.
24. 21:20a t'a9 keng-73 put k'iung;116 kiul116 che-162 tao-162 li:96 shī ju ho  
they have not investigated thoroughly what these principles are like.
25. 13:4b t'a9 shī kien-147 tek tsī ko-118 tao-162 li:96 liao  
he has perceived these principles.
26. 8:24b t'a9 shī p'ak61 che-162 ko-118  
he fears this.

27. 42:32a chī:30 shī *t'a9* chī111 küek147 chī:30 ts'ung;60 che-162 yit1 lu-157  
k'ü-28  
but their consciousness is in each case in the one direction only.
28. 51:29a *t'a9* chi:30 yao t'ui-162 pu-77  
he only wants to retire (Laotsī).
29. 4:2a kok30 sui;170 *t'a9* fen18 liang-166 tso-9 ch'ut17 lai9  
everyone accomplishes according to his ability.
30. 8:23b yao tsiang41 ni85 k'ü-28 sek32 *t'a9*  
if one wants to take mud and obstruct it (water).
31. 16:21b put shi sin61 li:145 tu-38 tsit38 *t'a9* pien-9 sien-123 mu-61 *t'a9*  
it is not that in their hearts they envy him; they admire him.
32. 13:8a so yi K'ung tsī ai-61 yüü *t'a9* shuot149 hua-149  
Confucius therefore loved to speak to him.
33. 43:10b pien-9 yüü *t'a9* yit1 pan137 ye  
then we are like them (the animals).
34. 6:50a ju kin9 k'an-109 *t'a9* tik  
when we now look at his (explanations).
35. 19:16a pien-9 wei-149 *t'a9* chi liang138 sin61 yi:49 sī:78 liao ye  
it means that his conscience is already dead.
36. 65:6a pien-9 k'an-109 *t'amen9* che-162 pan137 wen;67 tsi-39 put jup11  
then we realize that these writings of theirs have no profundity.
37. 19:26a keng-73 yu shenmo ch'ut17 jup11 sui;170 *t'amen9* shuot149  
again, what difference is there according to what they say?

#### A. 1—12.

These sentences all have a personal pronoun in the first person. When Chu Hi refers to himself, then he often employs the word *mou*:75 (sentences 1 and 2). This word was used in the same way in T'ang time.<sup>1)</sup> Now *mou*:75 means »a certain one«, »so and so«. The word *tsi*-132 *kia40*, properly »self«, in sentence 3 is a very common feature in Chu Hi's colloquial language. It is an inclusive »we« corresponding to the Pekinese *tsan*;30. Lü:30 Shuk29-siang85<sup>2)</sup> considers *tsi*-132 *kia40* to be a forerunner of *tsan*;30. The pronoun *wu*;30 also belongs to Chu Hi's colloquial language (sentences 3 and 4). He generally allows it to indicate the plural, and he uses it in an exclusive sense, corresponding to Pekinese *wo*:62 *men9* »we«. Moreover — in accordance with the literary language — *wu*;30 occurs only in the nominative and genitive cases. Chu Hi now and then employs the pronoun *wo*:62. It occurs in the nominative case (6, 7, 9, 10) as well as in the oblique cases (8, 11, 12). Whether it refers to the singular or to the plural has to be inferred from the context. The plural sense seems, however, to be predominant. *Wo*:62 does not refer to the speaker himself, i. e. to Chu Hi only, but it has an

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>2)</sup> Kao Ming-k'ai, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

indefinite sense, including the speaker as well as the hearer, thus conveying the same idea as the German indefinite pronoun »man». Chu Hi also uses *wo*:62 in *Oratio Recta* (7 and 9). In the genitive case the particle *tik* (occasionally *chi*) sometimes follows *wo*:62 (11 and 12). I have not come across any instances of the plural *wo*:62 *men*9.

### B. 13—19.

Here we are confronted with examples of the personal pronoun in the second person. The colloquial *ni*:9 »you» exists in T'ang time<sup>1)</sup> and is a successor of the literary *er*:89 and *ju*:85. Chu Hi employs *ni*:9 much less than *wo*:62. He uses it when he addresses several persons. Like the English »you» *ni*:9 has an indefinite sense as well (14). *Ni*:9 is generally used in the nominative case (13—17). In the second clause of sentence 18 it is the object. *Ni*:9 is also used in *Oratio Recta* (15 and 16). The possessive *ni*:9 *tik* and the plural form *ni*:9 *men*9 are entirely absent — so far as I have been able to find. When Chu Hi addresses one person he often uses, not a proper pronoun, but the honorific *kung*12 »duke»(19).

### C. 20—37.

The pronoun *t'a*9 originally means »another», then pronounced »t'o», and Chu Hi often uses it in this sense. In the present-day colloquial language the phrase *k'i t'a*9 *tik* »other» is quite common. But *t'a*9 is in Chu Hi's language also a personal pronoun in the third person. It means »he» or »they», more seldom »it». *T'a*9 generally refers to animate things, and as a rule to a person. This is in accordance with modern usage. When *t'a*9 refers to inanimate things it is not in the position as a subject. In the above sentences these rules are quite obvious. In all sentences but two, *t'a*9 — whether in the subject or in the object position — refers to a person. The two exceptions are sentences 30 and 33. In the former *t'a*9 refers to *shui*:85 »water», and it is the object. In the latter the antecedent of *t'a*9 is *k'in*:114 *shou*-94 »animals». Here *t'a*9 is preceded by the preposition *yüü* »with». In sentence 32 *t'a*9 is likewise preceded by *yüü*. *T'a*9 is also used as a possessive pronoun (27 and 29). In the modern language the possessives are mostly formed by adding the particle *tik*. We have seen that Chu Hi sometimes adds *tik* to *wo*:62, but not to *ni*:9. In sentence 34 we find the possessive *t'a*9 *tik*, but that is an isolated case. In sentence 35 the possessive is indicated by the literary particle *chi*. Chu Hi often allows *chi* to signify the genitive, but it is unusual that *chi* follows a personal pronoun. The plural sign *men*9 probably existed in some southern dialects already before T'ang time.<sup>2)</sup> There are only a few cases of *men*9 in the *Ts'üanshu*. Here we meet with two of them, added to the pronoun *t'a*9 (sentences 36 and 37). The plural element *men*9 will be dealt with in chapter VIII:3.

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<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>2)</sup> Kao Ming-k'ai, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

Chu Hi is economical in his use of personal pronouns, still more so than the modern language. When we dealt with the indefinite *tu163* »all» in § 3 we said that *tu163* is often preceded by a personal pronoun in the plural in the present-day language, e. g. *t'a9 men9 tu163 lai9 liao* »they have all come». Chu Hi never has a personal pronoun in this function (cf. § 3). The literary pronouns *k'i* and *chi* probably also belong to Chu Hi's colloquial language, since they occur in sentences which otherwise are of a truly colloquial character.

## CHAPTER VII

### CLASSIFIERS

In the sentences dealt with in the preceding chapters we have met with several instances of *ko-118*, above all in those illustrating Chu Hi's use of demonstratives (chapter VI:1, 2). In the old *pai hua* texts *ko* was more often written with the radical 118 »bamboo« than with the radical 9 »man«. A distinction has at times been made between the two: *ko-9* was used with animate things and *ko-118* with inanimate. No such distinction is made in the edition of the Ts'üanshu under discussion here. The instances of *ko-9* are so insignificant that they may be entirely disregarded. »Classifier« is a current term for words like *ko-118*, *kien-9*, *t'iao*,<sup>75</sup> etc. They are also called »auxiliary nouns«, »numeratives«, or »numeral adjuncts«. In the modern language nearly every noun has a specific classifier<sup>1)</sup> according to the nature of the noun. Thus objects extended in length take *t'iao*,<sup>75</sup> »branch«, objects with a handle take *pa* »handle« etc. The word *ko-118* is called »general classifier«, because it may be used with almost any kind of nouns, i. e. it may be used instead of the specific classifier of a certain noun, and it is, with very few exceptions, the only classifier of abstract nouns. The position of the classifier is between a numeral or pronoun and a noun. Sometimes the numeral + classifier follows after the noun. This latter position was the rule in the literary language. The use of classifiers was very restricted; the number of them was very limited in the literary language, and in the old *pai hua* the classifiers were nothing like as numerous as they are now. One reason why classifiers are much more common and numerous in the modern language may be the large number of homophones due to various phonetic changes in the language. There are other categories of words which have a similar function to that of the classifiers, e. g. words denoting measure: *yit1 pei75 shui*:<sup>85</sup> »a glass of water«, *san1 li*:<sup>166</sup> *lu-157* »three li distant«. Words of this type are universal. Here we only propose to discuss classifiers in the narrow sense of the word, or »proper classifiers«. The majority of specific classifiers are either nouns or have once been ordinary nouns: *pen*:<sup>75</sup> »root«, *kien-9* »item«, *chang*<sup>57</sup> »sheet« etc. The general classifier *ko*, on the other hand, is not derived from an ordinary noun. It has never been used alone but has always been adjoined to another word, either to a noun or a demonstrative, or to a numeral. In the present-day language, however, *ko* is sometimes used as a noun, in an

<sup>1)</sup> For reasons not yet investigated, certain nouns never allow of classifiers, e. g. *t'ien*<sup>37</sup> »day« and *nien*<sup>51</sup> »year«.

expression like *ko tsī ta*-37 »tall of stature«.<sup>1)</sup> As a classifier placed between the numeral and the noun, particularly between *yit1* »one» and the noun, *ko-118* was current in the colloquial language of T'ang time.<sup>2)</sup> Sometimes, when the numeral is *yit1* »one» (*yit1 ko-118* etc.), *yit1* is simply dropped and understood from the context, as in group A below; a frequent phenomenon in modern Mandarin.

Here follow a number of sentences illustrating Chu Hi's use of classifiers:

*A. 1–20.*

1. 6:68b kai-140 t'a9 ye chī111 jen9:7 yi-123 shī *ko-118* hao:38 tik wut93 shī-6  
therefore he too knows that »jen» and »yi» are good things.
2. 13:3a shī *ko-118* k'ou:30 k'uai-61 tik jen9  
he is a blunt man.
3. 15:6b sin61 pen:75 shī *ko-118* tung-19 wut93  
the mind is in itself an active thing.
4. 21:26a kai-140 sing-61 tsī-132 shī *ko-118* nan172 yen;149 tik wut93 shī-6  
for the nature is obviously a thing for which it is difficult to find a definition.
5. 22:29b shī *ko-118* nan172 chok64 tik wut93 shī-6  
it is a thing which is difficult to get at.
6. 47:19b tek60 pien-9 shī *ko-118* hing;144 tao-162 tik  
virtue is the practice of the Way.
7. 1:12a sūl81 yu *ko-118* shī yu *ko-118* fei  
there must be a distinction between right and wrong.
8. 2:20b yu *ko-118* hia-1 shou:64 ch'u-141  
there is a starting-point.
9. 3:28a chī:30 yu *ko-118* chen109 yüü put chen109 fen18 piet18  
there is a difference between true and false.
10. 3:29a yu-29 sī-9 hu yu *ko-118* tso-9 put hao:38 shī-6 tik sin61  
it is as if there were a mind which does what is bad.
11. 7:13a shī-6 shī-6 tu163 yu *ko-118* kik75 chī-133 chi li:96  
everything has a principle of extremity.
12. 10:23b pien-9 sūl81 tsī-132 yu *ko-118* kung61 king-66  
he must spontaneously have respect.
13. 14:31a chī-111 pien-9 yu *ko-118* k'uai-61 huot85 tik yi-61 sī-61  
wisdom has a meaning of »lively».
14. 29:5b shī yu *ko-118* ki75 hui-73  
it means that there is an opportunity.
15. 42:7b sūl81 shī yu *ko-118* sin61 pien-9 shou66 ship64 tek che-162 sing-61  
there must be mind to receive Nature.

<sup>1)</sup> The short form for *ko-118*, *ko-2* occurs already in the Shu king in the sense of »piece, item».

<sup>2)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

16. 42:10b chī:30 shī ts'ai;120 yu *ko-118* shan-30 tik, pien-9 yu *ko-118* put shan-30 tik  
but the moment the good appears, there immediately appears with it the not good.
17. 50:16a chī:30 sī-9 *ko-118* yü:173 san:9  
it is simply like an umbrella.
18. 20:1b k'iap<sup>61</sup> sī-9 *ko-118* shī<sup>94</sup> tsī t'iao-157 yüek<sup>157</sup> siang<sup>109</sup> sī-9  
it is like a lion leaping for joy.
19. 6:17b sheng-128 jen<sup>9</sup> to<sup>36</sup> shuot<sup>149</sup> *ko-118* kuang:53 ta-37 k'uān<sup>40</sup> hung;57 chī yi-61  
the sages as a rule speak in a profound and wide sense.
20. 51:43b chen<sup>109</sup> *ko-118* yu *ko-118* shang-1 ti-50  
then there really is a Supreme Ruler (in Heaven).

*B. 21—33.*

21. 1:2b ju Yao;<sup>32</sup> Shun-136 ye chung<sup>120</sup> shī:38 shī *yit1 ko-118* king-66  
as Yao and Shun who from the beginning to the end had one (single) reverence.
22. 5:22b chī:30 yüan;<sup>120</sup> tan-9 chī<sup>111</sup> yu sī-31 *ko-118* yao kin:<sup>120</sup>  
because they only know that there are four important ones (relations).
23. 6:4b p'i-149 ju jen<sup>9</sup> yük<sup>76</sup> chī<sup>111</sup> *yit1 ko-118* jen<sup>9</sup> shī hao:38 jen<sup>9</sup> shī ok<sup>61</sup> jen<sup>9</sup>  
e. g. someone wants to know whether a certain man is good or evil.
24. 7:19b shī *liang:11 ko-118* jen<sup>9</sup> tso-9 shī-6  
there are two people in action.
25. 7:19b wai-36 mien-176 wei shan-30 shī *yit1 ko-118* jen<sup>9</sup>, li:<sup>145</sup> mien-176 yu-29 yu *yit1 ko-118* jen<sup>9</sup>  
the one outside who does good is one man, and inside there is another man.
26. 16:18b t'ung<sup>162</sup> t'ung;<sup>30</sup> chī:30 shī *yit1 ko-118* wut<sup>93</sup> shī-6  
they are all one and the same thing.
27. 16:19a ju *yit1 ko-118* ta-37 shu-75 yu *ko-118* ken<sup>75</sup> chu<sup>75</sup>  
e. g. a big tree which has a root and a trunk.
28. 42:8b pen:<sup>75</sup> jan chī sing-61 shī shang-1 mien-176 *yit1 ko-118*  
original Nature is from above (one from above).
29. 43:18a t'ien<sup>37</sup> yu na-163 k'i-84 sheng<sup>100</sup> *yit1 ko-118* jen<sup>9</sup> ch'ut<sup>17</sup> lai<sup>9</sup>  
whenever Heaven by means of the »k'i« element produces a man . . .
30. 43:30b jok chī:30 shī *liang:11 ko-118* tan<sup>30</sup> tik yin<sup>170</sup> yang;<sup>170</sup>  
if there were but a single »Yin« and a single »Yang«.
31. 43:33a shī yu liang<sup>11</sup> pan<sup>137</sup> ming-30 k'üek<sup>26</sup> put shī yu *liang:11 ko-118* ming-30  
there are two kinds of Decree, not two Decrees.

32. 45:3b kin9 sien10 shuot149 *yit1 ko-118 sin61 pien-9 kiao66 jen9 shik149 tek ko-118 sing-61 ts'ing;61 tik tsung:120 nao:130*  
now, by defining the mind first, men are taught to recognize a head to Nature and the feelings.
- 33a. 48:2a shik149 tek *yit1 ko-118 pien-9 hiao:72 tek k'i yü;184 ko-118*  
when we know the one we know all the rest.
- 33b. 4:16a tu163 put kien-147 *piet18 ko-118 liao*  
they do not see anything else.

#### C. 34—41.

34. 1:20b hüek39 chü:30 yao li:96 hui-73 *che-162 yit1 ko-118 tao-162 li:96*  
the learner must understand this one principle.
35. 3:13b *che-162 ko-118 tu163 yu ko-118 tsek*  
all this has law.
36. 8:2a tu163 shi sien10 yu *che-162 ko-118 wut93 shi-6. Ki yu che-162 wut93 shi-6*  
all first have this thing. Since they have this thing.
37. 9:2b pien-9 tsiang41 *che-162 ko-118 tso-9 chu:3*  
and let this be the master.
38. 11:28b weih shik149 tek *che-162 yit1 ko-118 shu73 pien-9 k'ü-28 tuk149*  
if he does not know this book, then he should read it.
39. 13:3b tan-9 shi na-163 *ko-118 shi ts'ien:85 tik che-162 ko-118 shi shen85 tik*  
but that one is shallow, and this one is deep.
40. 45:1b *ts'i liang:11 ko-118 shuot149 chok yit1 ko-118 tsek yit1 ko-118 sui;170 tao-18*  
of these two, to speak of one is to imply the other.
41. 48:22a chung61 shi yao tsin-108 tsü-132 kia40 *che-162 ko-118 sin61, sin-9 shi yao tsin-108 tsü-132 kia40 che-162 ko-118 tao-162 li:96*  
loyalty is the expression of one's whole heart, truth is carrying out one's principles to the utmost.

#### D. 42—54.

42. 44:10a ju si61 ts'i yit1 shi-6 yu-29 piet18 si61 *yit1 kien-9 shi-6 pien-9 put k'o to be thinking about a certain thing, and then to let your thoughts go off to something else will not do.*
43. 21:17b kai-140 *che-162 kien-9 shi-6 ye chuang-64 chok che-162 pen:75 lai9 tik tao-162 li:96*  
therefore this thing also runs against these principles.
44. 18:42b ju shi:9 min83 k'ü-28 tso-9 *che-162 kien-9 shi-6*  
e. g. make the people do this thing.
45. 11:28b weih shik149 tek *che-162 yit1 kien-9 shi-6*  
if he does not know this one matter.

46. 48:29b jok tso-9 *che-162 yit1 kien-9 shi-6 sin61* yu-29 tsai na-163 shi-6 yung:85  
 tso-9 put tek  
 we shall never succeed in anything we do if while doing it the mind  
 is on something else.
47. 39:45b kin9 t'ien37 hia-1 yu er-7 *kien-9 kik75 ta-37 shi-6*  
 now there are two extremely important matters under Heaven.
48. 16:23b put k'o wei-149 shi *yit1 kien-9 wut93 shi-6*  
 you must not say that they are the same thing.
49. 19:5a ju yu *yit1 kien-9* k'o hi:30 tik wut93 shi-6 tsai yen:109 ts'ien;18  
 if e. g. there is a pleasant thing in front of you.
50. 22:26b shi *liang.11 kien-9 wut93 shi-6*  
 they are two phenomena.
51. 22:11a tu163 ju yüek75 k'i-30 yu *yit1 kien-9 siang109 si-9*  
 all bear a resemblance to musical instruments.
52. 24:21a chi:30 shi *yit1 kien-9 kung48 fu37*  
 it is simply one and the same activity.
53. 45:19a jok yi wei tsai nei-11 tsü-132 yu *yit1 kien-9 kung48 fu37 tsai wai-36*  
 yu-29 yu *yit1 kien-9 kung48 fu37*  
 if in your thinking you make one set of functions to be internal, and  
 another set of functions to be external.
54. 55:8b tek *yit1 kien-9 shu73 k'an-109*  
 if one finds a book to read.

#### E. 55—60.

55. 10:8b kien-147 *yit1 t'iao;75 p'ing;51 t'an:32 lu-157*  
 when he sees a level road.
56. 4:3a ju *yit1 t'iao;75 ta-37 lu-157*  
 as e. g. a big road.
57. 6:16a ts'ie:1 sü181 ts'ung;60 *yit1 t'iao;75 cheng-77 lu-157 yu k'ü-28*  
 it is necessary to follow a straight road.
58. 44:9a Ming Tao tu:130 li:145 yu *yit1 t'iao;75 liang75*  
 Ming Tao had one beam in his mind.
59. 53:64a ts'ie:1 ju *yit1 to:75 hua140*  
 it is like a flower.
60. 10:13a ts'ie:1 pa *che-162 yit1 ko-118 tsok9 yit1 pa t'ou;181 ch'u-141*  
 and he allows this to be the essential thing.

#### A. 1—20.

In all these sentences *ko-118* is adjoined to a noun without being preceded by any determiner, the *ko-118* being really an abbreviation for *yit1 ko-118* (cf. p. 100). An indefinite sense is being expressed. The copula *shi* is the predicate in sentences 1—6, *yu* »have, there is» in sentences 7—16 and 20. In sentences 17 and 18 *si-9*

»to be like» is the predicate, and, finally, in sentence 19 *shuo*149 »to speak» is the predicate. On the whole, Chu Hi very often forms clauses with *shí* or *yu* as predicates, and this is the reason why again and again *ko*-118 + a noun is a complement of these verbs; though Chu Hi often allows *ko*-118 + a noun to be the object of other verbs as well. *Ko*-118 in this position never forms part of the subject, nor does it enter into any prepositional construction.

The noun *wut*93 *shí*-6 is met with in a good many of these sentences. It occurs repeatedly, sometimes with the classifier *ko*-118 and sometimes with *kien*-9 (cf. D), and the choice between these two classifiers does not seem to make any difference to the meaning. In sentences 1, 2, 4, 5, 9–11, 13 and 19 there is an attribute between *ko*-118 and the noun. This is in accord with modern usage. The word *yü*:173 *san*:9 »umbrella» in sentence 17 has the specific classifier *pa* »handle» today, being an object with a handle. Chu Hi does not make this differentiation. In sentence 20 we find the expression *chen*109 *ko*-118 »really», which Chu Hi employs quite often. In the modern language one says *chen*109 *tik*, though *chen*109 *ko*-118 is often heard in the Peking dialect.

The formula *ko*-118 + noun (i. e. the numeral understood) is more frequent than the full *yit*1 *ko*-118 + noun in the Ts'üanshu. A similar use of *ko*-118 has been discussed in chapter VI:4:C.

#### B. 21–33.

Here *ko*-118 is preceded by a numeral, in most cases by *yit*1 »one». When looking at the above sentences with *yit*1 *ko*-118 we shall find that either the word *yit*1 is a proper numeral meaning »one» as opposed to another number, or else it means »single, certain, one and the same», and the like. It is thus obvious that *yit*1 *ko*-118 is as a rule used in a definite sense, the *yit*1 having been dropped when an indefinite sense is being expressed, cf. A above. *Yit*1 *ko*-118 sometimes occurs alone (28, 33), replacing a previously mentioned noun. Among these sentences we are again confronted with one example of *ko*-118 preceding a noun which now takes a specific classifier. That is the word *shu*-75 »tree» in sentence 27. Now one says *yit*1 *k'o*75 *shu*-75. The expressions *k'i* *yü*:184 *ko*-118 »the rest» and *piet*18 *ko*-118 »other» in sentences 33 a and b are also against modern usage. Here *ko*-118 corresponds to the particle *tik* in the present-day language. *Yit*1 *ko*-118 + noun may be in the subject position, e. g. sentence 23, but I have not found it preceded by a preposition.

#### C. 34–41.

More examples of this type are to be found in chapter VI:1, 2:C, D. Here *ko*-118 or a numeral + *ko*-118 is preceded by a demonstrative. The demonstrative + *ko*-118 is either alone or followed by a noun. There are some isolated cases of the interrogative and indefinite pronoun *ki*:52 being followed by *ko*-118 (cf. sentence 6 in chapter VI:6).

In this position as well *ko-118* sometimes forms part of the subject, e. g. sentence 35, but it does not enter into any prepositional constructions, so far as I have been able to find. In sentence 38 we find the noun *shu73* »book» preceded by *ko-118*. Today this noun has the specific classifier *pen*:75. Chu Hi does not use this word as a classifier. In sentence 41 *che-162* *ko-118* is preceded by the pronoun *tsi-132 kia40* (VI:7:A,3) It is quite common for a possessive pronoun (without the particle *tik*) to be adjoined to a demonstrative + classifier (+ noun) in the modern language, but Chu Hi rarely makes use of such a construction. It was mentioned when discussing the demonstratives (cf. chapter VI:1:D) that Chu Hi does not object to using *ts'i* »this» (sentence 40) in connection with a classifier.

#### D. 42—54.

Some very common nouns of the modern language take the specific classifier *kien-9* »item». Thus, an every day word like *yi145 fuk74* »clothes» as a rule takes *kien-9*. Further, the words *shi-6* »matter», »action», *shi-6 ts'ing;61* »affair» generally take this classifier. Consequently, although only a limited number of nouns take *kien-9*, it is nonetheless one of the most frequent classifiers. The above sentences illustrate Chu Hi's use of this classifier. He does not employ it very often, but of the specific classifiers *kien-9* is no doubt the one he uses most.

The word *shi-6* takes *kien-9*: sentences 42—47. I have not come across any instances of the simple *shi-6* being preceded by the general classifier *ko-118*. The binome *wut93 shi-6* (48—50), on the other hand, sometimes occurs with *ko-118*, and sometimes with *kien-9* (cf. A). A word of which Chu Hi makes extensive use is the binome *kung48 fu37* »activity, work», cf. chapter II:B. When this word is preceded by a classifier, then the latter is *kien-9* (52—53). In sentence 54 the word *shu73* »book» is preceded by *kien-9*. We met with this word joined to the general classifier *ko-118* in sentence 38. In sentence 47 *er-7* »two» is used before a classifier. This is against modern usage, and is exceptional in Chu Hi's language. In sentences 24, 30, 31, 40, and 50 the colloquial *liang:11* »two» occurs. The numeral *yit1* »one» is never dropped before *kien-9* as it is before *ko-118* in sentences 1—20, either in the modern language or in Chu Hi's.

#### E. 55—60.

These sentences illustrate Chu Hi's use of a few other specific classifiers. The classifier *tiao;75* seems to be current (55—58). *To:75* in 59 is an isolated case. The same pertains to *pa* in sentence 60. The nouns in these sentences are all concrete, some of them used in a figurative sense.

\* \* \*

In his discourses Chu Hi predominantly employs abstract nouns (cf. chapter III:2), which is quite natural in view of the philosophical character of the questions he

discusses; so that it is not to be wondered at that the general classifier *ko-118* is so often met with. It occurs again and again with a restricted number of abstract nouns which Chu Hi incessantly uses. But *ko-118* also precedes concrete nouns, and we have seen how some words take *ko-118* which today take another classifier. The use of classifiers was obviously not so differentiated in Chu Hi's time as it is now. When dealing with the demonstratives (VI:1 B, 2 B) we saw that Chu Hi often adjoins the demonstrative directly to the noun. Numerals are also allowed to precede a noun without an intervening classifier. The same noun may on one line occur *with* a classifier, and on the next line *without* one (e. g. sentence 42). The use of a classifier is thus optional in Chu Hi's colloquial language. The majority of the instances of *ko-118* and *kien-9* are to be found in the Yülei, but Chu Hi employs them now and then in the Wentsi as well. They occur in passages which are quotations from Chu Hi's predecessors or contemporary philosophers, and Chu Hi's interlocutors use them in their questions.

## CHAPTER VIII

### PARTICLES

#### § 1. *Tik.*

The particle *tik* is a colloquial word which is known to have been current in T'ang time. Maspero<sup>1)</sup> says about *ti*:53: »Elle répond exactement au modern *ti* dont elle a tous les emplois». In the T'ang and Sung *pai hua* literature *tik* was written *ti*:53, with the radical 53 »bottom», Ancient Chinese *tiei*, and *ti*-32, with the radical 32 »earth», Ancient Chinese *d'i*, and this distinction was probably not only orthographical but also functional.<sup>2)</sup> Later on, *tik*, as it is written nowadays, took over the functions of them both. In modern times *tik* is written in three ways by some writers: *ti*:53 in the possessive, *ti*-32 in adverbs, and *tik*106 in other positions. But the latter is now generally used in all functions of *tik*. In the present edition of the Ts'üanshu the instances of *tik*106 functioning as a particle are very few. It occurs after the word *tuan*117 »correct», and in a few clauses in which it has the same function as *tik* written *ti*:53. *Ti*:53 occurs in a variety of constructions, and *ti*-32 in only two constructions: 1) it follows a reduplicated or compound adjective or adverb, and 2) it enters into a few adverbial (seldom attributive) expressions like *jen*-61 *ti*-32 »thus», and *t'ek*93 *ti*-32 »specially». For the sake of convenience *tik* will here be used as a transcription in all the examples, and then in the commentary it will be indicated when we are confronted with the characters *tik*106 and *ti*-32.

*Tik* belongs to the most common words in the modern language, and it is not exaggerated to say that of all particles and auxiliaries *tik* has the most varied use. We have seen, for instance, how it has taken over some of the functions of the auxiliary *tek* (chapter IV: 3). Chu Hi employs *tik* more often than e. g. *liao*, *che*-162, and *ko*-118. In some passages of the Yülei we meet it very often indeed, up to twelve instances on one page. It is less frequent, however, than in the *Nien*:112 *yü*-96 *kuan*147 *yin*180, examined by J. Průšek<sup>3)</sup>. This narrative was probably written in Chu Hi's time or slightly later. Chu Hi also uses the particle *chi* in his colloquial language, as will be illustrated in some of the excerpted sentences below. (The particle *chi* is in many cases the literary counterpart of the colloquial *tik*).

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>2)</sup> J. Průšek, La fonction de la particule *ti* dans le chinois médiéval. Archiv Orientální, Vol. 15, p. 306.

<sup>3)</sup> J. Průšek, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

In modern *pai hua* the fundamental function of *tik* is that of a particle turning a preceding word into a qualifier to a following principal word. When the latter is a noun the qualifier will be an attribute, when a verb the qualifier will be an adverbial. In the former case the attribute will correspond, in Western languages, to:

- a) a genitive attribute e. g. *hai*;39 *tsi tik fu*-88 *mu*:80 »the child's parents».
- b) an adjective attribute e. g. *hao*:38 *tik hai*;39 *tsi* »a good child».
- c) a prepositional attribute e. g. *t'iet*167 *tik tung*75 *si*146 »an object of iron».
- d) a verbal attribute e. g., *lai*9 *tik hai*;39 *tsi men*9
  - »the arriving children»
  - »the arrived children»
  - »the children who have arrived»

(corresponding to our participle or a relative clause).

In the latter case we have:

- e) *t'a*9 *man*-61 *man*-61 *tik lai*9
  - »He will come presently».

The following examples are arranged according to the above table:

*A. 1—6. (a)*

- 1. 47:3b *jen*9:7 *shī ai*-61 *tik tao*-162 *li*:96 *kung*12 *shī jen*9:7 *tik tao*-162 *li*:96
  - »jen» is the principle of love, and »kung» is the principle of »jen».
- 2. 48:1b *yi*-123 *chī yen*;30 *suk*129 *tsik*26 *shī jen*9:7 *tik shou*66 *lien*-66
  - the awful majesty of Righteousness is the conserving aspect of »jen» (sympathy).
- 3. 21:8b *shi*-6 *ts'in*147 *yu ai*-61 *tik yi*-61 *sī*-61
  - to serve one's parents has the meaning of love.
- 4. 9:15b *tsin*-108 *tek ko*-118 *hiao*-39 *tik tao*-162 *li*:96
  - if one observes to the utmost the principle of filial piety.
- 5. 58:27b *yu*-29 *yao* *tso*-9 *K'ung tsi tik shī*-6 *yep*75 *shu*78 *put chī*111 *K'ung tsi chī shī*;72
  - they want to do what Confucius did, but do not know the time of Confucius.
- 6. 9:6b *pien*-9 *chī*;30 *shī chī*111 *tek wo*:62 *tik tao*-162 *li*:96
  - it is to know the principles of myself.

*B. 7—15. (b)*

- 7. 2:23b *jok shī put hao*:38 *tik shī*-6 *pien*-9 *put yao* *tso*-9
  - if it is something bad, then it must not be done.
- 8. 11:6a *k'üek*26 *shī hun*;85 *jan hao*:38 *tik yi*-61 *sī*-61
  - ... is truly a perfectly good thought.
- 9. 15:54b *k'üek*26 *shī meit kin*:120 *yao tik shī*-6
  - it is truly no important matter.

10. 46:14a sui172 chī-133 meit *kin*:120 *yao tik wut*93 shī-6  
even in insignificant things.
11. 19:23b shī wen85 *ku*-66 chī chung2 er tek *sin*69 *tik tao*-162 li:96  
it is to obtain the new principles in the midst of practising the old.
12. 23:13a yu *hok*203 *an*-72 *tik sin*61 pien-9 mot85 liao chī-72 chī ken75  
if there is a dark mind then the root of wisdom is destroyed.
13. 43:4a *hao*:38 *tik sing*-61 ju shui:85 k'i-84, *chit*154 chī sing-61 ju  
good Nature is like water. Physical Nature is as if . . .
14. 47:2b k'iap61 sī-9 yu yit1 ko-118 *siao*:42 *siao*:42 *tik jen*9:7 yu yit1 ko-118  
*ta*-37 *ta*-37 *tik jen*9:7  
seems to imply that there is a small »jen» and a great »jen».
15. 20:42a Meng tsī shī *shenmo tik* tsīl54 chitl54 *shenmo tik* lik19 liang-166  
what disposition and resources Mencius had

*C. 16—17. (b)*

16. 6:19a *tsing*119 *tik ku*-31 tang102 k'an-109 *ts'u*119 *tik ye* tang102 k'an-109  
the refined (literature) should decidedly be read, the coarse as well.
17. 45:4a yük76 tsek *shui*:85 chī po85 lan85 tan-9 po85 lan85 yu *hao*:38 *tik* yu  
*put hao*:38 *tik*  
and desires are the waves. But there are good and bad (waves).

*D. 18—27. (d)*

18. 43:9b t'o9 shī;72 pit61 yu *hao*:72 *tek tik jen*9  
in another age there will be people who understand.
19. 4:12b nan172 *hiao*:72 *tik hua*-149  
words which are hard to understand.
20. 25:22a t'o9 *jen*9 *li*:96 *hui*-73 *put tek tik shī*-6  
what other people cannot grasp . . .
21. 7:25a jan hou-60 kuan-154 t'ung162 tek *ch'eng*;149 *yi*-61 *tik yi*-61 sī-61  
afterwards we shall understand the meaning of making the thoughts sincere.
22. 12:37b chī:30 shī *yao p'ien*,9 *yi*;40 *tik jen*9  
that refers only to people who seek advantages.
23. 5:5a yik8 weih ch'ang;50 *put shī k'ok*10 *ki*:49 *fuk*60 *li*:113 *tik tao*-162 *li*:96  
. . . and has always been the principle of denying oneself and returning to propriety.
24. 15:9a *tek*60 chī:30 shī *tso*-9 *che*-162 *yit*1 *kien*-9 shī-6 *tik yi*-61 sī-61  
virtue simply means to do this one thing.
25. 18:42b *che*-162 tung-19 tsī-39 *put shī kan*:61 *tung*-19 chī tung-19, shī shī:9  
*min*83 *tik yi*-61 sī-61  
this word »tung» is not the »tung» in »kan tung» (= move, influence), it has the meaning of »to employ the people».

26. 17:5b kie106 shī *yu ts'ai*;64 tik jen9  
they are both men of ability.
27. 1:10a tsi-132 shī jen9 *hop*30 li:96 hui-73 tik shī-6  
that is something we should pay attention to.

*E. 28—37. (d)*

28. 5:1a ni:9 put *hiao*:72 *tek tik wo*:62 *shuot*149 *tsai che*-162 li:145  
I shall explain what you do not understand.
29. 6:7a *tuk*149 *lai*9 *tuk*149 k'ü-28 *shao*:42 *kien*169 *hiao*:72 *put tek tik tsī*-132  
*jan hiao*:72 *tek*  
if we read over and over again, then, after a while we shall understand spontaneously what we did not understand before.
30. 9:10b *fat*105 *ch'u*17 *tik tu*163 shī *tao*-162 li:96  
what is manifested is all (in accordance with) the principles.
31. 13:26a *lao*19 shī *tsī*-132 *kia*40 *tso*-9 *ch'u*17 *lai*9 *tik*  
meritorious deeds are (things) accomplished by myself.
32. 45:4a *yük*76 shī *ts'ing*;61 *fat*105 *ch'u*17 *tik*  
desire is feeling in its manifestation.
33. 3:4a *ju han*;85 *yang*:184 *shuk*86 *che*  
e. g. someone who is cultivated.
34. 3:4b *ju han*;85 *yang*:184 *put shuk*86 *tik*  
e. g. someone who is not cultivated.
35. 11:21a *ye yu ch'eng*;149 *sin*61 *lai*9 *tik ye yu wei li*-18 *lai*9 *tik*  
there are those who come with a true heart, there are also those who come for gain.
36. 42:3b *ming*-30 *pien*-9 shī *shui*:85 *jen*-61 *tik liu*85 *tik*  
the decree is like water flowing thus.
37. 48:20b *wu wang*-38 shī *tsī*-132 *jan chi* ch'eng;149 *put k'i*76 shī *chok lik*19  
k'ü-28 *tso*-9 *tik*  
to be devoid of anything false is spontaneous sincerity, to allow no self-deception is sincerity acquired by effort.

*F. 38—51 (e).*

38. 1:8a *yu*-29 *chi*:30 *ju p'ing*;51 *ch'ang*;50 *tik han*;85 *yang*:184 *tsiang*41 k'ü-28  
again it is as ordinarily to continue to nourish.
39. 43:31b *chi*:30 shī *tang*-102 shī;72 *wu*;30 *tao*-162 *hok*203 *ts'ui*-85 *ts'ui*-85 *tik*  
but at that time our teaching was obscure and eclipsed.
40. 43:5a *chi*:30 *hun*72 *hun*72 *tik* k'ü-28 *yu*-29 *put tek*  
but those who go blindly on in their heedless course will also fail.
41. 17:33b *man*-61 *man*-61 *tik* *siao*85 *mol*12 *liao*  
it melts away slowly.

42. 55:8b *k'iap61 k'iap61 tik hao:38*  
it is just right.
43. 2:19a *so yi ch'ang;50 yao sing61 sing61 tik*  
therefore we must always be alert.
44. 3:26b *chī:30 yüek120 mok64 jen-61 tik shuot149*  
just in a guessing way to speak thus.
45. 4:3b *chik109 shī jen-61 tik yung-101 kung19*  
just to work hard like this.
46. 9:2a *tao-18 jen-61 tik shī;72*  
at that time.
47. 40:30b *wo:62 t'ek93 tik yao sheng100 ko-118 sheng-128 hien;154 ch'ut17 lai9*  
we intend to produce a saint.
48. 36:23a *put chī111 tsen:61 sheng100 tik*  
I do not know why.
49. 53:26a *jok put tsiu ts'i, ju ho tik tso-9*  
if not according to this, how should we do it, then?
50. 1:11a *pit61 sūl81 tuan117 tik tsī-132 sing:109*  
one must truly examine oneself.
51. 4:15a *tuan117 tik ju ts'i*  
it is truly like this.

#### A. 1—6 (a).

It is evident that in these sentences the word before *tik* is in an attributive relation to that after *tik*. The attribute expresses the genitive. *Tik* here corresponds to the literary *chī*, which we meet with as a synonym in sentence 2. Actually, when Chu Hi expresses a genitive he seems to prefer *chī* or juxtaposition (cf. *chī-72 chī ken75* in sentence 12). Above all, this is true for the possessive genitive, which, contrary to modern usage, he rarely constructs with *tik*. Sentences like 5 and 6 are unusual.

#### B. 7—15 (b).

Here the word preceding *tik* is an adjectival attribute. When the attribute is a simple adjective like *hao:38* »good» (7,8), *sin69* »new» (11), then Chu Hi uses either the construction with *tik* or juxtaposition; *chī* is rare in this application in his colloquial language. When the adjective is a binome (e. g. 12) then *tik* and *chī* are interchangeable. The *siao:42 siao:42 tik* as an attribute (14) is an isolated case, cf. chapter III:1:B. The same pertains to *ta-37 ta-37 tik* in the same sentence. Sentence 15 with *shenmo + tik + noun* is an unusual construction in Chu Hi's language.

*C. 16—17 (b).*

Here, too, *tik* turns a word into an adjectival attribute, but the principal noun is left out. This construction — which is extremely common in the present-day language — is relatively common in the Ts'üanshu.

*D. 18—27 (d).*

In all these sentences *tik* serves as a link between a verb and a noun, thus turning the verb into an attribute of the noun, i. e. a verbal attribute. When the attributive verb is without any complement, it is generally a compound one. In sentence 19 there is, instead, a simple verb preceded by an adverb. In sentence 20 the verb is followed by *put* + the potential *tek*. *Ch'eng;149* *yi-61* in sentence 21 qualifies the word *yi-61 si-61* »meaning». *Ch'eng;149* is the verb and *yi-61* its object. This is a type of construction that Chu Hi uses very often. The subsequent sentences in this group all have a similar construction: verb + object + *tik* + noun (principal word). The object may consist of one word or of several. The attributive phrase is preceded in sentences 22—27 by the copula *shī*. The nouns most frequently qualified in this way are *jen9* »people», *shī-6* »things», and *yi-61 si-61* »meaning». But other nouns are also used with this construction, as the above sentences testify. As was shown in the table above, the phrase with *tik* often corresponds, in Western languages, to a relative clause the antecedent of which is the noun (principal word). In the first clause of sentence 25 we meet with the literary *chi*, which changes the compound verb *kan:61 tung-19* »to move, to influence» into an attribute to the word *tung-19* »to move», and in the second clause we have *tik* performing a similar function. *Chi* and *tik* are thus interchangeable in this category as well, cf. A and B above. The above sentences all accord with modern usage as far as the particle *tik* is concerned. The literary particle *chi* occurs in polished speech in the present-day colloquial language in a position similar to that in sentence 25. In sentence 23 *tik* is written as it is in the modern language (*tik106*); this may be due to faulty text transmission.

*E. 28—37 (d).*

Here again we are confronted with an extremely common construction in Chu Hi's colloquial language as well as in the present-day language. The construction may very well be said to be the same as that discussed under D, the difference being that here no noun follows *tik*. In the majority of the instances, however, either the word *shī-6* or *jen9* may be supplied without making any difference to the meaning. This construction sometimes corresponds to *nomina agentis* in the European languages, and sometimes to a relative clause. When *tik* makes a *nomen agentis* of a verb it corresponds to the literary *che*. Sentences 33 and 34 stand very close to one another in the text. In one of them we find *che* and in the other *tik*. *Che* and *tik* may thus be said to be synonyms. In the modern colloquial

language we sometimes find *che* as a literary remnant, e. g. *hüek39 che* »learner; scholar». Chu Hi only occasionally has *che* in passages reflecting his colloquial language. *Jen-61 tik* in sentence 36: see under F below.

F. 38—51 (e).

In the majority of these sentences the word preceding *tik* qualifies a verb, i. e. it is an adverbial. In sentences 38—49 *tik* is written with the character *ti-32* »earth». It has the two functions mentioned at the outset of this paragraph: it comes after a reduplicated (occasionally compound) adjective or adverb (38—43), and it occurs in the expressions *jen-61 tik* »thus», *t'ek93 tik* »especially», and sometimes after *tsen:61 sheng100* »how, why», and *ju ho* »how» (44—49). *Jen-61 tik* is undoubtedly quite a common element in the old *pai hua*.<sup>1)</sup> Now it is obsolete. Chu Hi employs it very often indeed, and, so far as I can discover, it does not occur in any passages that are quotations from his predecessors or questions put by his interlocutors. *Jen-61 tik* is generally an adverb, the attributive position in sentence 46 being exceptional. I have not found any instances of the character *ti:53* being used in these applications, and none of *ti-32* being applied in sentences like those under A—E. As nothing certain is known about the etymology of the particle *tik* (like the literary *chi* it may be derived from a demonstrative), it will suffice to stress that there must have been a functional difference between *ti:53* and *ti-32*, both of which served as phonetic loan characters. As already stated, this difference has been revived in the script by some writers in modern times. In sentences 50 and 51 we find the adverb *tuan117 tik* »truly», of which Chu Hi makes fairly frequent use. This *tik* is always written *tik106* in our text. This may be due to faulty text transmission, but it is more probable that here we do not have an instance of the particle *tik* but that *tik106* is used in one of its original senses »real», as it is in the binomes *tik106 tang-102* »proper» and *tik106 k'üek112* which also occur in Chu Hi's language (cf. chapter II:C, E).

\* \* \*

We have seen that, on the whole, Chu Hi employs the particle *tik* in the same way as it is employed today, i. e. it has the fundamental function of turning a preceding word into a qualifier to a following principal word (cf p. 108). This principal word may sometimes be understood. When looking at the table at the beginning of this paragraph and at the sentences from the *Ts'üanshu* we shall find that there are no instances of the type *t'iet167 tik tung75 si146* (c). So far as I can find, this application of *tik* is not to be found in the *Ts'üanshu*.

The frequency of *tik* is slight in Chu Hi's colloquial language if we compare it with that of today, as *tik* is one of the words which have continually been gaining ground. But in spite of this fact it is evident that Chu Hi is very familiar with

<sup>1)</sup> cf. J. Průšek, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

the use of this particle. We find instances of *tik* in the Wentsi, in the Kin sī lu, and even in the commentaries.

## § 2. *Sie7.*

We meet with *sie7* already in T'ang time as a plural and indefinite particle.<sup>1)</sup> It is extremely common in the present-day colloquial language, above all when adjoined to the demonstratives *che-162* and *na-163*. Chu Hi is quite familiar with this particle. On the whole he employs it in the same way as in the modern language. *Sie7* may also be an indefinite pronoun, but as it is primarily a particle, it is being dealt with in both applications in this chapter.

Below are 10 sentences illustrating Chu Hi's use of the word *sie7*:

1. 3:29b jok yü shang-1 mien-176 t'ien85 *sie7* hüan;95 miao-38 k'i;37 t'ek93 if something mysterious and unique is added . . .
2. 6:52a na-163 yit1 jen9 yu-29 lai9 t'ien85 *sie7* shui:85 and that man also adds some water.
3. 3:27a jok sin61 hia-1 yu *sie7 tsī* put an40 wen:115 if one is not quite at ease in one's heart.
4. 7:19a jan *che-162 sie7* ming72 tik tao-162 li:96 but these clear principles.
5. 9:17a ye k'uei116 kien-147 tek *che-162 sie7* tao-162 li:96 he has also peeped at these doctrines.
6. 9:10b jen9 chi:30 yao ts'un;39 tek *che-162 sie7* tsai che-162 li:145 if people only preserve these here.
7. 3:24b pien-9 chi:30 yao li:96 hui-73 *che-162 sie7 tsī* then one should just pay attention to this.
8. 11:37b ye chi:30 sun:64 tek *che-162 sie7 ko-118* they just rejected these.
9. 30:34a pu:145 *che-162 yit1 sie7* and add these.
10. 31:39a *che-162 pan137 sie7* siao:42 tao-162 li:96 minor principles of this kind.

In sentences 1—3 we are confronted with *sie7* as an indefinite pronoun; as such it means »some». The phrase *sie7 tsī* »a little, some» is quite often met with in Chu Hi's language (sentence 3). The indefinite pronoun *yit1 sie7* »some, a little» does not — so far as I am aware — exist in Chu Hi's language.

The remaining 7 sentences exemplify the particle *sie7*. In sentences 4 and 5 it comes between *che-162* and a noun and indicates the plural. This is the most common composition and function of *sie7* today, but in Chu Hi's language it is not very much

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

used in this application. I have failed to find any instance of *sie7* being preceded by *na-163*. The binome *hü:149 to36* »many» seems to serve the same purpose as *sie7* does in the modern language after *na-163* (cf. chapter VI: 2). *Che-162 sie7* »these» occurs also without a following noun as in sentence 6. Chu Hi sometimes uses *che-162 sie7 tsī*, when modern Mandarin has *che-162 sie7* or *che-162 sie7 + a noun* (sentence 7). *Che-162 sie7 ko-118* in sentence 8 is a sporadic case, and so are *che-162 yit1 sie7* in sentence 9, and *che-162 pan137 sie7* in sentence 10.

### § 3. *Men9.*

The plural particle *men9* was referred to when we dealt with the pronoun *t'a9* (cf. VI: 7: C). It was then pointed out that the cases of *men9* are very sporadic in the Ts'üanshu.

*Men9* is a common word in the present-day language, as it is affixed to the personal pronouns. It is also used with nouns referring to persons when there is no quantity word to indicate the plural number. The plural number, however, has often to be inferred from the context even in the modern language.

Six sentences will suffice to illustrate this insignificant feature in Chu Hi's colloquial language:

1. 36:5b *t'a9 men9 shuot149 king120*  
they explain the classics.
2. 65:6a *pien-9 k'an-109 t'a9 men9 che-162 pan137 wen;67 tsī-39 put jup11*  
then we realize that their writings have no profundity.
3. 19:26a *sui;170 t'a9 men9 shuot149*  
according to what they say.
4. 53:44a *tsai t'a9 men9 shuot149*  
according to what they say.
5. 47:8b *k'üek26 pei-145 t'a9 men9 shuot149 tek t'ai;64 hü141 ta:64 hien:170*  
but as described by them fictitious notions are imported into it.
6. 4:14a *mei:80 ch'ang;50 ling-9 er;10 tsī men9 tso-9 shī-6*  
whenever we order children to work.

In sentences 1—5 we have *t'a9 men9*. We can see that *t'a9 men9* may be in the subject position (1) or it may be in the genitive position (2). Further, it may be preceded by a preposition (3, 4). Instead of calling *sui;170* (3) and *tsai* (4) prepositions we may look upon these words as verbs with *t'a9 men9* as an object. In sentence 5 *t'a9 men9* is preceded by the auxiliary *pei-145*. As stated before, the pronouns *wo:62* and *ni:9* do not occur with the plural particle *men9* in the Ts'üanshu (cf. chapter VI: 7). In sentence 6 the word *er;10 tsī* is followed by *men9*. This is an isolated case. (In the subsequent clause in the text *t'a9* and not *t'a9 men9* is used as the substitute for *er;10 tsī men9*.) The instances of *men9* which are to be found in the Ts'üanshu are all to be found in the Yülei.

## CHAPTER IX

### CONJUNCTIONS AND ADVERBS

#### § 1. *K'uek26.*

The original meaning of the word *k'uek26* is «to decline, to refuse». It occurs in this sense in the book of Mencius. In the colloquial language *k'uek26* is chiefly an adversative conjunction. It is common in the written *pai hua*; it is heard in refined speech but has been replaced by *k'o* in the everyday language. Chu Hi employs *k'uek26* quite often, in the Wentsi as well as in the Yülei:

1. 6:42b *k'uek26* kai:66 pien-149 tek put t'ung;30  
but they altered differently.
2. 23:24a *k'uek26* yin31 hou-60 lai9 kai:66 lai9 kai:66 k'ü-28 put fen18 hiao:72 liao  
yet, it is not clear because it has afterwards been altered again and again.
3. 11:18a *k'uek26* yüü tsok72 jit72 so shuot149 tik  
but as to what was said yesterday.
4. 15:54b *k'uek26* shi meit kin:120 yao tik shi-6  
it is nevertheless no important matter.
5. 42:3b che-162 ko-118 *k'uek26* sü181 yu;102 wo:62, put yu;102 t'a9 liao  
these must however all proceed from myself and not from him.
6. 3:2b yu-29 *k'uek26* chung120 put k'en:130 tso-9  
and yet they are after all not willing to act.

*K'uek26* introduces, as a rule, the clause in which it occurs, as in sentences 1–4. The subject is understood in these sentences, and this is the ordinary pattern for clauses with *k'uek26*. When the subject is expressed, then it precedes *k'uek26*, as in sentence 5. An adverb may also precede *k'uek26* (sentence 6). The copula *shi* is very common as a predicate in clauses with *k'uek26* (sentence 4).

#### § 2. *Chi:30.*

*Chi:30* was originally the character for a final particle. As such it occurs in the Shih king. In the colloquial language it is a restrictive conjunction, as a rule in an initial position. *Chi:30* may also function as an adverb. It is very frequent indeed in the modern language. Chu Hi makes extensive use of *chi:30*, alone as well as combined with the copula *shi*. *Chi:30* is, in fact, one of the most conspicuous

features in his language. It occurs more often than any of the form words dealt with here, i. e. it is the most frequent grammatical word in Chu Hi's colloquial language. *Chi*:30 may be rendered with »only», »just» or »but».

Here follows a selection of the many sentences with *chi*:30:

A. 1—9.

1. 1:3b *chi*:30 shuot149 ko-118 yi-123 li:96 ta-37 kai-75  
but we should tell (them) the outlines of the principles of righteousness.
2. 30:11a *chi*:30 p'ak61 tsü-132 kia40 tsü-132 jen-149 put p'o-112  
I fear we do not know ourselves.
3. 13:11b *chi*:30 k'an-109 che-162 ch'u-141  
but if we read this passage.
4. 45:12a *chi*:30 k'an-109 ts'i yit1 kü-30 pien-9 liao tek  
but look at this one sentence, and you will get at the meaning.
5. 2:25a *chi*:30 yu ko-118 kung61 king-66  
if only there is reverence.
6. 6:20a *chi*:30 pei-145 li-18 yük76 hun72 liao  
but it is obscured by the lust for gain.
7. 1:20b hüek39 *chi*:30 yao li:96 hui-73 che-162 yit1 ko-118 tao-162 li:96  
if only the learner pays attention to this one principle.
8. 1:20b t'ien37 hia-1 *chi*:30 yu yit1 ko-118 tao-162 li:96  
there is under Heaven but one single principle.
9. 2:5a jok *chi*:30 kuan:118 wut10 jan shou:40 tsai che-162 li:145  
if we just steadfastly hold fast to it.

B. 10—21.

10. 1:20a *chi*:30 shi che-162 yit1 ko-118 tao-162 li:96  
it is just this one principle.
11. 3:30b *chi*:30 shi yit1 pu-77 liao  
it is just one step.
12. 2:23a *chi*:30 shi sip106 tek shuk86  
it is just to become versed.
13. 3:24b *chi*:30 shi kien-147 tek put wan;40 ts'üan;11  
but they do not perfectly understand.
14. 5:1a *chi*:30 shi yao ni:9 fu;64 ch'i;64 che-162 ko-118 tao-162 li:96  
it is only that you should support these doctrines.
15. 17:8b *chi*:30 shi t'a9 put k'en:130 fang-66 kuo-162  
but he is not willing to give up.
16. 20:44b *chi*:30 shi ta-37 kai-75 ju ts'i shuot149  
it is only speaking generally.
17. 43:34b *chi*:30 shi ts'ung;60 ta-37 yüan;27 chung2 liu85 ch'ut17 lai9  
they simply flow from the Great Source.

18. 15:9a tek60 *chi*:30 *shī* tso-9 che-162 *yit1* kien-9 *shī*-6 *tik* yi-61 *sī*-61  
virtue just means to practise this.
19. 10:31a jen9 *chi*:30 *shī* put *sī61* liang166 tao-18 che-162 *li*:145  
but people do not consider this.
20. 48:4b king-66 *chi*:30 *shī* *yit1* ko-118  
respectfulness is but one.
21. 28:43b pien-9 *chi*:30 *shī* p'ing;51 ti-32 liao  
it is just level ground.

#### A. 1—9.

In sentences 1—6, *chi*:30 is the first word of the clause. It is followed by the principal verb except in sentence 6, in which the auxiliary of the passive voice follows after *chi*:30. Any kind of verb can follow after *chi*:30, but the one that follows most often is *yu* (5 and 8). *Chi*:30 *yu* means »there is only» or »if only there is». None of the sentences 1—6 have the subject expressed. When there is a subject, it precedes *chi*:30 (7 and 8). In sentence 9 the conditional conjunction *jok* comes before *chi*:30. The expression *chi*:30 *kuan*:118 »just, merely» in this sentence occurs quite often in the Yülei, and it is very common in the present-day language. The *chi*:30 *p'ak61* »I suspect, I fear» in sentence 2 is also often heard today. The same pertains to *chi*:30 *yao* »if only» in sentence 7.

#### B. 10—21.

In these sentences we are confronted with the expression *chi*:30 *shī*, which is extremely common in Chu Hi's language. *Chi*:30 *shī* may either be followed by a noun, as is the case in sentences 10 and 11, or by a verb with or without complements, as in sentences 12—17. In the latter sentences *chi*:30 *shī* may be rendered with »it is only (that)» or »but». It is certainly the general rule that *chi*:30 *shī* introduces the clauses in which it occurs. But it is not unusual that words like *pien*-9, *jan*, *jok*, *yu*-29 precede it. In sentences 18—20 the subject is placed before *chi*:30 *shī*, which is also quite common.

The majority of instances of *chi*:30 are met with in the Yülei. They are quite numerous in the Kin *sī lu*, and they are to be found in the Wentsi and in the commentaries as well. We also find *chi*:30 in passages which are quotations from the Ch'eng brothers and other Neo-Confucianists, and Chu Hi's interlocutors occasionally employ it in their questions.

### § 3. *Pien*-9.

The word *pien*-9 occurs in some of the Chou time texts with the meaning »comfortable», »convenient», »useful». In the colloquial language it is a component in some very common binomes like *pien*-9 *yi*;40 »advantageous», *fang*70 *pien*-9 »convenient», *sui*;170 *pien*-9 »at your convenience». But *pien*-9 is also a form word

meaning »then». We find isolated cases of it in the *wen hua* (an early example already in Chuang tsî). *Pien-9* was very often used in this function in the old Mandarin language. It corresponds to the literary *tsik26* and *tsek*. It is still used in refined speech and in the written *pai hua*. In the modern colloquial language it has been replaced by *tsiu* »thereupon». Chu Hi makes a frequent use of *pien-9*. He likes to introduce clauses with this word. *Pien-9* often serves as a link between two clauses. It may be rendered with »and», »then» sometimes with »but», but it is often untranslatable. We have often come across clauses with *pien-9* in the preceding chapters, above all in chapter IV:1 when discussing *liao*.

Here follow a number of sentences illustrating Chu Hi's use of *pien-9*:

1. 1:22b *pien-9* lip117 ko-118 chu:3 chang57  
and set up a proposition.
2. 2:11b *pien-9* kien-147 li:145 mien-176 yi-61 sî-61  
then we see the meaning in it.
3. 2:11b *pien-9* yi:49 yu pat12 kiu:5 fen-18 liao  
then there are already eight or nine tenths.
4. 19:28a hop30 k'i:156 lai9 *pien-9* shî tao-162 chî ts'üan;11 t'i:188  
taken together it is the whole substance of the Tao.
5. 25:31a weih tso-9 tek yit1 pan-24 *pien-9* k'i-75 liao  
when he has not done half of it (then) he leaves it.
6. 15:32b yit1 tuan-69 liao *pien-9* put k'o tsiep64  
once you have interrupted, then you cannot take it up.
7. 6:7a hüek39 *pien-9* shî tuk149  
to learn that is to read.
8. 8:12a che-162 ko-118 *pien-9* shî tsî-132 k'i76 *pien-9* shî put ch'eng;149  
this is self-deception and dishonesty.
9. 55:5a mou:75 *pien-9* put kan:66 shuot149 t'a9 shuot149 tek put shî  
but I do not dare to say that they have said what is wrong.
10. 6:50a che-162 pan137 ch'u-147 *pien-9* shuot149 tek ch'a48 liao  
these passages have been falsely explained.

In sentences 1—6 *pien-9* is in initial position. In three of them (4—6) the preceding clause which depends on the »*pien-clause*« has been included. This is the usual pattern for sentences with *pien-9*. When the subject is expressed, it precedes *pien-9*, as is the case in sentences 7—9. In sentence 10 the object is in an emphatic position before *pien-9*.

The word following *pien-9* is generally a verb or the copula *shî*. An adverb (occasionally an object) or a negative may be inserted between *pien-9* and the verb (sentences 3, 6, 9).

*Pien-9* is a quite significant feature of Chu Hi's colloquial language. It is rare in passages that are in the literary language.

#### § 4. *Tsiu.*

*Tsiu* occurs as a verb in a variety of senses in the classical language. Thus it means »to approach, to go to, to come to, to advance, to accomplish» etc. It also means »with reference to, according to, as to» (*Tso chuan*). It is a verb in the colloquial language as well, forming part of compound verbs, some of which are extremely common: *ch'eng*;62 *tsiu* »to accomplish», used by Chu Hi, *tsiang*41 *tsiu* »make the best of it». But in the modern language *tsiu* is, above all, a form word serving several purposes. It may introduce a clause in the same way as *pien*-9. This is its commonest function in modern Mandarin, and that is why it has been placed and treated here, after *pien*-9. *Tsiu* joined to the copula *shī* is a very common phrase in the present-day language, meaning »that is, namely» on the one hand, and »even if» on the other. Apparently Chu Hi does not use this phrase at all. On the whole, he makes a very limited use of *tsiu*, and when he does use it, it has not the same function as *pien*-9.

We shall examine a number of sentences with *tsiu*:

1. 1:10a *tsiu* ts'i li:96 hui-73 tek t'ou-162  
if with reference to this one has understood thoroughly.
2. 5:3a *tsiu* che-162 liang:11 san1 kü-30 t'i;181 muk109 shang-1 shuot149 k'ü-28  
as to what is said in these two or three sentences.
3. 3:28b chi:30 *tsiu* wai-36 mien-176 li:96 hui-73 tek hü:149 to36  
if one just pays attention to what concerns the many outward matters.
4. 3:14a *pien*-9 chi:30 *tsiu* che-162 pen:75 tsī shang-1 li:96 hui-73  
then one must just take note of the matter according to this foundation.
5. 7:16b tuk149 shu73 *pien*-9 *tsiu* wen;67 tsī-39 shang-1 kok75; t'ingl28 jen9 shuot149 hua-149 *pien*-9 *tsiu* shuot149 hua-149 kok75  
when reading then one should investigate with reference to what is written; when hearing someone speaking, then one should investigate with reference to what is said.
6. 5:2a jen9 neng *tsiu* shang-1 mien-176 tso-9 *tsiang*41 k'ü-28  
if people can act according to these words (expressed in the preceding clause).
7. 6:9a tuk149 shu73 ts'ie:1 *tsiu* na-163 yit1 tuan-79 pen:75 wen;67 yi-61 shang-1 k'an-109  
when reading then one should just examine according to the meaning of the original text.
8. 48:22a sin-9 shī *tsiu* shī-6 shang-1 shuot149  
truth has reference to actions.

In sentences 1 and 2 *tsiu* introduces the clause. Yet it is evident that we here do not have the *tsiu* equivalent to *pien*-9. In sentences 3 and 4 *tsiu* follows

*chī*:30. In sentences 4 and 5 we meet with *tsiu* in clauses introduced by *pien-9*. In sentence 6 *tsiu* comes after the auxiliary verb *neng*. In all these sentences but one the word following *tsiu* is a noun with or without a preceding attribute. In sentence 1 the word following *tsiu* is a pronoun.

In all the above sentences *tsiu* means »as to, according to, with reference to«. It is thus a synonym of the colloquial *chao-86 chok* »according to«. It is evident that, although *tsiu* occurs in passages reflecting colloquial features, it does not function in the same way as it does today, and it is not a synonym of *pien-9*.

### § 5. *Fang70; ts'ai;120.*

#### A. *Fang70.*

The word *fang70* occurs in the Chou time texts with different meanings and functions. It is a very common word in the present-day colloquial language, being used alone or forming part of binomes. Among other things, it is an adverb meaning »just now« and »then«, »then, and only then«. In the former sense we meet with it in the binome *fang70 ts'ai;120*. Chu Hi does not use this binome, and when he employs *fang70*, it does not mean »just now«. He expresses this sense with the simple *ts'ai;120* (cf. B below). In passages reflecting Chu Hi's colloquial language we quite often find clauses introduced by *fang70* in the sense »then, and only then«. He likes to end his answers with the expression *fang70 tek* »then (and only then) you will get at the meaning».

The following sentences will illustrate Chu Hi's use of this adverb:

1. 1:21b *fang70 k'o li:96 hui-73 wen;67 tsī-39*  
then (and only then) one can read the texts.
2. 10:23a *king-66 liao fang70 hui-73 sin-9, sin-9 liao fang70 hui-73 tsiet118 yung-101*  
when one is reverent then one can be sincere, when sincere then one can practise economy in expenditure.
3. 6:3a *sü181 che-162 yit1 tuan-79 t'ou-162 liao fang70 k'an-109 hou-60 pan:75*  
one must understand this section thoroughly and then one can proceed to the subsequent book.
4. 19:25a *fang70 neng tso-9 tek shī-6 ch'eng;62*  
then one can accomplish things.
5. 9:17a *che-162 fang70 shi kok75 wut93*  
this and only this is to investigate the affairs and things.

*Fang70* has the same position in the clause as *pien-9*, i. e. at the head of the clause or after the subject, more seldom after another adverb. When having the force it has in the above sentences, *fang70* is interchangeable with *tsiu* in the present-day language, but Chu Hi never employs the latter in this way.

## B. Ts'ai;120.

Chu Hi employs *ts'ai*;120 fairly often, but much less than *fang*70:

6. 10:46a t'a9 *ts'ai*;120 k'ai169 k'ou:30  
as soon as he has opened his mouth . . . .
7. 42:30a *ts'ai*;120 yu pit118 pien-9 yu li:96  
as soon as the pen exists the «li» is inherent in it.
8. 42:10b chi:30 shi *ts'ai*;120 yu ko-118 shan-30 tik  
but just when the good appears.
9. 42:23a yu-29 *ts'ai*;120 kien-147 shuot149 si-31 che wei sing-61 chi t'i:188  
further, it having just been established that the four principles constitute the substance of Nature.
10. 42:31a *ts'ai*;120 fat105 pien-9 fat105 tsin-108 liao  
the moment the strength of the plant is put forth, it is put forth to the utmost.

The position of *ts'ai*;120 in the clause is the same as that of *fang*70. It means »just, at the moment, as soon as».

## § 6. Huan;162.

The original meaning of *huan*;162 is »to turn round», »return». In the literary language it functions as a verb only, but in the colloquial language it is an adverb as well; as such it means »still, yet», and is nowadays pronounced *hai* or *han*. Its use is very differentiated, and it is, among other things, very common in disjunctive questions. *Huan*;162 as an adverb is very rare in Chu Hi's colloquial language. There are, in fact, only a few sporadic cases in the Yülei. Chu Hi's interlocutors occasionally employ *huan*;162 in their questions. It is remarkable that this modern feature exists at all in our philosopher's language. Here follow some of the few sentences with *huan*;162. In examples 1—4 *huan*;162 means »still», »after all», »alors». In the contexts it is practically untranslatable into English. Sentences 5 and 6 are disjunctive questions:

1. 15:3a wo:62 *huan*;162 neng mok203 shik149 fou:30  
can I silently treasure up knowledge?
2. 15:3a wo:62 hüek39 *huan*;162 put yen-27 fou:30  
do I learn without satiety?
3. 15:3a wo:62 kiao66 *huan*;162 put küan-9 fou:30  
do I teach without being wearied?
4. 2:19a jok *huan*;162 kin9 jit72 tsok9  
if we do it today.

5. 46:5a shī shüt40 yu che-162 ko-118 tao-162 li:96, *huan*;162 shī wu che-162  
ko-118 tao-162 li:96  
and we shall know whether this principle exists or not.
6. 13:12b *huan*;162 chi:30 yao k'iu;85 Tsī lu-157 put shī ch'u-141  
or are they just finding fault with Tsī-lu?

### § 7. *Ye.*

*Ye* is a final particle and an enclitic particle in the classical language. Chu Hi sometimes uses *ye* as a final particle in his colloquial language, as an equivalent of the particle *liaο*. But the primary function of *ye* in Chu Hi's language is the same as it is today: it is an adverb, in positive sentences meaning »also», and in negative ones »nor», »not . . . either». *Ye* is not very frequent in Chu Hi's colloquial, but it occurs much more often than e. g. *huan*;162:

1. 15:30a che-162 tao-162 li:96 *ye* tsai li:145 mien-176  
this principle is also included.
2. 34:19b sü61 *ye* tsai che-162 li:145 liao  
the thoughts are also here.
3. 41:6a che-162 ko-118 *ye* nan172 hiao:72  
this is also hard to know.
4. 30:47b pien-160 che-162 ko-118 *ye* hao:38  
to discuss this is also good.
5. 10:17b che-162 *ye* shi t'a9 ta:64 put kuo-162 ch'u-141  
this is also something they do not attain to.
6. 13:15a *ye* jen-61 tik shuot149 put tek  
it cannot be said like that either.
7. 6:7a sie:40 tsai chi:120 shang-1 tik *ye* put tsi-85 shi-6  
to write it down on paper does not help either.

It is evident from the above sentences that *ye* has the same position and meaning in Chu Hi's language as it has today.

### § 8. *Put kuo-162.*

The adversative binome *put kuo-162* »but, only», used in the literary language, but very common in the present-day colloquial language, is very rare in the Ts'üanshu. There are, in fact, only some sporadic cases of it:

1. 6:20a *put kuo-162* ch'eng115 liang166 k'i k'ing159 chung-166 er:128  
only estimate its importance.
2. 6:61b *put kuo-162* ki-149 k'i shi-6 shüt40  
they only recorded its facts.

3. 20:78b *put kuo-162 ju kin9 chī shī:30 shu73 chīk109 shu73 k'i shī-6*  
but the annals of today just record these things.
4. 36:25b *put kuo-162 chī:30 shī che-162 yitl yi-61*  
but it is just this one idea.
5. 51:1b *jan tao-18 kik75 ch'u-141 put kuo-162 chī:30 shī che-162 ko-118*  
but to attain to the utmost is just this.

From sentences 1—3 it can be seen that Chu Hi employs *put kuo-162* in sentences which are permeated with literary features: 1, the literary *k'i* and *er:128*; 2, *k'i*, and 3, *chī*, *chīk109* and *k'i*. In sentences 4 and 5 *put kuo-162* is emphasized by *chī:30 shī*.

### § 9. *Tan-9; tan-9 shī.*

The word *tan-9* »only, but», is used in the literary as well as in the colloquial language. *Tan-9 shī* »but» is, like *put kuo-162*, very common in the modern language. Chu Hi employs the simple *tan-9* as well as the compound *tan-9 shī*, and the latter, although not very common, is met with more often than *put kuo-162*. *Tan-9* and *tan-9 shī* are in an initial position — as can be seen from the following sentences — whether the subject is expressed or not:

1. 10:27a *tan-9 Tsī hia-35 shuot149 tek t'ai-37 ts'u119 liao*  
but Tsī-hia has said it too coarsely.
2. 32:18a *tan-9 shī k'ung:61 kū-61 wei;26 hien:170*  
but he fears danger.
3. 41:7a *tan-9 shī che-162 ko-118 piet18 shī yitl hiang-181*  
but this is another item.
4. 14:19a *tan-9 shī jen9 put kien-147 ts'i li:96*  
but people do not see this principle.
5. 13:3b *tan-9 shī na-163 ko-118 shī ts'ien:85 tik, che-162 ko-118 shī shen85 tik*  
but that one is shallow, and this one is deep.
6. 9:10a *tan-9 shī fan;16 jen9 put chī111 sing:109 ch'at40*  
but ordinary people do not know how to enquire.

### § 10. *So yi.*

*So yi* (the relative pronoun *so* with *yi* as postposition) in the classical language means »that by which, whereby, wherefore», and has become a regular adverb »therefore» in the colloquial language. Chu Hi now and then employs *so yi* in the latter application, which the following sentences will illustrate:

1. 27:29b *so yi tsok9 che-162 shu73 ch'ut17 lai9*  
therefore he wrote this book.

2. 44:15b *so yi* put nengput yi-102  
and so the divergence is inevitable.
3. 43:18a *so yi* Meng tsī yi wei put t'ung;30 tao-162  
therefore Mencius regarded them as a different way.
4. 18:40b *so yi* keng-73 tso-9 put ch'eng;62  
therefore they accomplish still less.
5. 2:19a *so yi* ch'ang;50 yao sing61 sing61 tik  
therefore we must always be alert.
6. 60:23a *so yi* put shik149 tsī-39 tik jen9  
therefore people who cannot read . . .

It is evident that in the above sentences *so yi* is used in the same way as it is in the modern language, i. e. it is a binome. This is quite remarkable, as it is almost entirely lacking in the Ming novel Shui hu chuan.<sup>1)</sup>

### § 11. *Jok; jok shī; jok . . . . shī*;72.

#### A. *Jok, jok shī*.

In the classical language *jok* is met with as a verb meaning »to agree, to accord with«, and it also occurs in the sense of »as, like this, if«. *Jok* is a common word in the colloquial language in the sense of »if«, i. e. it introduces a conditional clause. Very often the copula *shī* is added to it. Chu Hi makes a frequent use of *jok* alone, but he also uses *jok shī*. Here follow 5 sentences introduced by *jok* and 7 by *jok shī*:

#### 1—5. *Jok*:

1. 24:12a *jok* chi:30 shuot149 ts'un;39 t'ien37 li:96 liao  
if you just speak of preserving the heavenly principle.
2. 6:5b *jok* chi:30 jen-61 ta-37 kang120 k'an-109 kuo-162  
if just the chief points have been read.
3. 7:15a *jok* nan172 hiao:72 yi-72 hiao:72  
if it is hard to understand or easy to understand . . .
4. 3:29b *jok* yü shang-1 mien-176 t'ien85 sie7 hüan;95 miao-38 k'i;37 t'ek93  
if something mysterious and unique is added.
5. 3:27a *jok* sin61 hia-1 yu sie7 tsī put an40 wen:115  
if one is not quite at ease in one's heart.

#### 6—12. *Jok shī*:

6. 9:20b *jok shī* jen9 chuan41 chi:30 k'ü-28 li:145 mien-176 li:96 hui-73  
if people only grasp the essential . . .
7. 9:23a *jok shī* li:145 mien-176 hok75 tsī weih p'o-112  
if the kernel in it is not broken.

<sup>1)</sup> cf. B. Karlgren, New Excursions in Chinese Grammar, p. 63.

8. 7:12a *jok shi* put sien<sup>10</sup> chi<sup>111</sup> tek che-162 tao-162 li:96  
if one does not first know these principles.
9. 2:31a *jok shi* yu so hi-120 luan-61 (Wentsi)  
if there is something that he dotes on.
10. 11:30a *jok shi* jen-61 tik  
if it is like this.
11. 4:1b *jok shi* ta-37 tik kung<sup>19</sup> yep<sup>75</sup>  
if it is a great merit.
12. 2:23b *jok shi* put hao<sup>:39</sup> tik shi-6  
if it is a bad matter.

In clauses 6—9 there is a principal verb, whereas in 10—12 the copula *shi* in *jok shi* serves as predicate.

#### B. Jok . . . . shi;<sup>72</sup>

In the novel Shui hu chuan the contamination construction of the type *ni*:9 *jok chi*<sup>111</sup> *tao*-162 *shi*;<sup>72</sup> »if you know»<sup>1)</sup> is very common. This construction exists in Chu Hi's language, although to only a limited extent:

13. 8:25b *kin*<sup>9</sup> *jok chi*:30 jen-61 tik shuot<sup>149</sup> *shi*;<sup>72</sup>  
now if we just say like this.
14. 8:30b *sin*<sup>61</sup> *jok sien*<sup>10</sup> *yu shu*-61 *shi*;<sup>72</sup>  
if the mind first has reciprocity.
15. 7:27b *jok chi*<sup>111</sup> *tek chi*-133 *shi*;<sup>72</sup>  
if one has obtained the utmost knowledge.
16. 9:21a *jok shi* kung<sup>48</sup> fu<sup>37</sup> chung<sup>2</sup> pan-24 *shi*;<sup>72</sup>  
if the task is half (finished).
17. 9:33a *jok shi* yi-61 weih ch'eng;<sup>149</sup> *shi*;<sup>72</sup>  
if the thoughts are not sincere . . .
18. 7:27b *jok shi* chi<sup>111</sup> *tek weih chi*-133 *shi*;<sup>72</sup>  
if one has not obtained the utmost knowledge . . .

It is evident that the construction *jok . . . . shi*;<sup>72</sup> brings out the same meaning as *jok shi*. In examples 11—13 we find *jok shi . . . . shi*;<sup>72</sup>.

#### § 12. *Tsui*-73.

The adverb *tsui*-73 »extremely, most» may be regarded as a colloquial feature, although it occurs sporadically in the same sense in the literary language. *Tsui*-73 is very common in the modern language, and so it is in Chu Hi's as well. He uses as a synonym of *tsui*-73 the literary *kik*<sup>75</sup> »utmost, extremely», which is also occa-

<sup>1)</sup> cf. B. Karlgron, New Excursions in Chinese Grammar, p. 64.

sionally heard today. The adverbs *hen*:60 »very» and *ting*:181 »very» do not occur in the Ts'üanshu.

The following 12 sentences will illustrate Chu Hi's use of the adverb *tsui*-73:

1. 8:2b ts'i liang:11 kü-30 *tsui*-73 hao:38  
these two sentences are extremely good.
2. 9:20b ts'i shi ta-37 hüek39 *tsui*-73 ch'u18 hia-1 shou:64 ch'u-141  
this is the very (first) beginning of the »Ta hüek».
3. 9:20b Ch'eng ts'i shuot149 tek tsiet118 muk109 *tsui*-73 to36  
Ch'eng ts'i has explained the largest number of paragraphs.
4. 10:18b che-162 ko-118 ping-104 k'üek26 *tsui*-73 chung-166  
this fault is however most serious.
5. 10:22b ts'i shi *tsui*-73 yao kin:120 ch'u-141  
this is the most important passage.
6. 11:9b k'an-109 chi-61 ts'i-39 *tsui*-73 yao kin:120  
to observe the word »chi» is the most important thing.
7. 42:7a ts'i shuot149 tek *tsui*-73 hao:38  
this is extremely well said.
8. 42:27b pien-9 *tsui*-73 ling173 yü t'o9 wut93  
they (the monkeys) are the most intelligent, compared with other creatures.
9. 8:24b t'a9 *tsui*-73 p'ak61 che-162 ko-118  
he fears this most.
10. 10:21b Kuei213-shan46 *tsui*-73 shuot149 tek hao:38  
Kuei-shan has explained this extremely well.
11. 3:2b k'an-109 tek ts'i *tsui*-73 shi yit1 kien-9 ta-37 kung48 fu37  
I think this is a most important activity.
12. 9:14a kok75 wut93 *tsui*-73 shi nan172 shi-6  
to investigate the affairs is a most difficult matter.

In sentences 1—9, *tsui*-73 is used in the same way as in the modern language, i. e. it intensifies an adjective, an adverb or a verb, and it precedes the word it intensifies. In sentences 10—12, on the other hand, *tsui*-73 seems to be in an emphatic position, before the verb, and not before the word to which it properly belongs: *hao*:38 in 10, *ta*-37 in 11, and *nan*172 in 12. This peculiar position of *tsui*-73 is contrary to modern usage.

## CHAPTER X

### PRE- AND POSTPOSITIONS

#### § 1. *Ts'ung;60.*

As a verb *ts'ung;60* means »to follow, obey, attend to». In the colloquial language *ts'ung;60*, besides being a verb and forming part of various compound verbs, is a form word serving the same purpose as a preposition in the Indo-European languages. In this function *ts'ung;60* is rendered with »from, by, since». In the ordinary literary language the words *tsi-132* and *yu;102* are used in this sense, and *ts'ung;60* is their colloquial equivalent. In Chu Hi's colloquial language we quite often find sentences with *ts'ung;60* = »from». He uses the literary word *tsi-132* in the sense of »from» as well, but not very often.<sup>1)</sup>

Here follow a few sentences with *ts'ung;60* and *tsi-132*:

1. 1:6a put k'en:130 *ts'ung;60* kin-162 ch'u-141 tso-9 k'ü-28  
they are not willing to start from that which is near at hand.
2. 7:4b shi *ts'ung;60* tsi-132 kia40 sin61 li:145 ch'ut17 lai9  
they come out from our mind.
3. 14:12b shi *ts'ung;60* wai-36 mien-176 tao-18 tik  
it has come from without.
4. 22:11a *ts'ung;60* t'ou;181 tao-18 wei:44 chi:30 shi kin167 sheng128  
from head to tail, its sound is completely metallic.
5. 23:6a tsek shu-61 *ts'ung;60* che-162 li:145 liu85 ch'ut17  
then reciprocity flows out from here.
6. 42:3a kie106 *ts'ung;60* shang-1 mien-176 liu85 hia-1 lai9  
both flow down from above.
7. 46:14a tu163 *ts'ung;60* na-163 yüan;85 t'ou;181 shang-1 lai9  
and all proceed from the one source.
8. 28:50b hou-60 lai9 *ts'ung;60* hiang163 sien10 sheng100 hüek39  
afterwards I learnt it from a village teacher.
9. 2:41a ku:30 jen9 *tsi-132* shao-42 siao:42 shi;72 pien-9 tso-9 liao che-162  
kung48 fu37  
the ancients did this from their youth.

<sup>1)</sup> *Tsi-132* is extremely frequent as a reflexive pronoun and as an adverb meaning »naturally, spontaneously», sometimes »only».

10. 2:18a *tsi-132* Ts'in;115 Han-85 yi lai9  
from the time of Ts'in and Han.

When examining the above sentences with *ts'ung*;60, we shall find that *ts'ung*;60 has the same position in the clause as the auxiliaries for the anteposed object, *tsiang*41 and *pa*, and the auxiliary for the passive voice, *pei*-145 (cf. chapter V). After *ts'ung*;60 there follows a noun with or without an attribute, and then comes the principal verb, which may be preceded by an adverb. In the modern language the phrase into which *ts'ung*;60 enters often refers to time as well as to place or a person. It can be seen from the above eight sentences illustrating *ts'ung*;60 that in none of them does the *ts'ung*;60 phrase denote time. In seven sentences *ts'ung*;60 expresses direction from a place, and in the eighth the word after *ts'ung*;60 is a person. It very seldom happens that *ts'ung*;60 refers to time in the Ts'üanshu. Sentences 9 and 10 illustrate how Chu Hi employs *tsi-132* in time expressions. The phrase *ts'ung*;60 *t'ou*;181 *tao*-18 *wei*:44 »from head to tail» in sentence 4 is very common in Chu Hi's language as well as in the present-day *pai hua*.

## § 2. *Tsai*.

*Tsai* is a verb meaning »to exist, to live, to be in». In the literary language *tsai* is, above all, a principal verb, and it occurs also as a noun meaning »place, residence». But already in the literary language it sometimes functions as a form word corresponding to a preposition in the Western languages.<sup>1)</sup> The noun preceded by *tsai* is often followed by a postposition like *shang*-1 »on», *li*:145 »inside» etc. Often the postposition is a binome like *li*:145 *mien*-176, *li*:145 *t'ou*;181 »inside» *wai*-36 *mien*-176, *wai*-36 *t'ou*;181 »outside» etc. In his colloquial language Chu Hi often uses *tsai* as a principal verb, but he also employs it as a preposition quite frequently. Thus expressions like *tsai che*-162 *li*:145 »here», *tsai na*-163 *li*:145 »there» are very common (cf. VI: 1, 2). Further, phrases like *tsai li*:145 *mien*-176 »inside», *tsai wai*-36 *mien*-176 »outside» are not unusual. Chu Hi is also familiar with the construction *tsai* + noun + postposition, the words he most often uses as postpositions being *shang*-1 and *li*:145 (cf. § 4). Below are 8 sentences with *tsai*:

1. 2:4b che-162 sin61 jok *tsai*, che-162 yi-123 pien-9 *tsai*  
if the mind is present, the righteousness is also present.
2. 2:21b tu163 *tsai* che-162 *li*:145 liao  
all is here.
3. 7:3a pen:75 ling:181 ts'üan;11 *tsai* che-162 liang:11 *tsi-39* shang-1  
the capacity lies completely in these two words (kok75 wut93).
4. 7:3b che-162 ko-118 *tao*-162 *li*:96 *tsai* sin61 *li*:145  
this principle is in the mind.

<sup>1)</sup> cf. B. Karlgren, Excursions in Chinese Grammar, p. 127.

5. 8:1a kien-147 hü:149 to36 tao-162 li:96 tu163 *tsai* yen:109 ts'ien;18  
we see that the many principles are all before us.
6. 6:7a sie:40 *tsai* chi:120 shang-1 tik  
to write it down on paper.
7. 60:15a put chü111 tao-162 yu shui:85 *tsai* li:145 mien-176  
he does not know if there is water in it.
8. 4:11a tsi-132 shi ch'ang;50 yu che-162 sin61 *tsai*  
if this mind is always present.

In sentence 1 *tsai* is a principal verb meaning »to exist, to be at hand». In sentences 2–7 it functions as a preposition. In sentence 2 we are confronted with *tsai* + the localizer (adverb) *che-162 li:145* »in here». In 3–6 *tsai* precedes a noun followed by a postposition (cf. § 4), and in 7 it precedes the binome *li:145 mien-176*. It should be noted that sentences 2–5 do not have any predicate expressed. They are so-called narrative sentences of the same type as a Russian sentence like »on v komnate = t'a9 *tsai* wuk44 li:145» he is in the room». A construction like that in sentence 8 is met with now and then in the Ts'uanshu. Here *tsai* seems to function as a complement to the principal verb.

### § 3. *Tao-18.*

In the literary language *tao-18* is a verb meaning »to arrive, to reach». *Tao-18* is a verb in the colloquial language as well. In chapter IV: 5 we met with *tao-18* as an auxiliary verb. But *tao-18* often has a function similar to that of a preposition in the Western languages. In Chu Hi's language *tao-18* quite often has this function.

Below a number of sentences with *tao-18*:

1. 3:26b *tao-18* tso-32 shi;72  
when one sits down (more literally: when the time for sitting down arrives).
2. 3:29a *tao-18* kien-147 tek put hao:38 shi-6  
when one sees a bad matter (when it comes to seeing a bad matter).
3. 9:2a *tao-18* jen-61 tik shi;72  
when it comes to that time.
4. 25:31b jok tso-9 *tao-18* kiu:5 fen-18  
if one accomplishes up to nine tenths.
5. 9:29b yu-29 chi:30 shuot149 *tao-18* cheng-77 sin61  
he again just speaks of correcting the heart.
6. 11:21a mou:75 ye put shuot149 *tao-18* che-162 li:145  
I have not said (up to) this either.
7. 3:33a kip29 shuot149 *tao-18* siu130 shen158 ch'u-141 shi;72  
when speaking of the passage on self-cultivation.

8. 6:17b shī-6 shī-6 k'iung;116 *tao-18* kik75 chī-133;66 ch'u-141  
everything is exhausted to the utmost.
9. 10:31a jen9 chi:30 shī put sī61 liang166 *tao-18* che-162 li:145  
but people have not thought of (up to) this.

In sentences 1—3 *tao-18* is a principal verb. In the remaining sentences it immediately follows the principal verb, though it does not belong to this verb but to the noun that follows it. It is thus a preposition. It is evident that in all the above sentences *tao-18* has retained something of its original meaning of »to arrive, to reach».

#### § 4. Some Postpositions.

In § 2 we were confronted with some postpositions added to the noun preceded by *tsai*. In the modern language binomes like *shang-1 pien162* »on the top», *wai-36 mien-176* »outside», *li:145 t'ou;181* »inside» are very common as postpositions, e. g. *chok75 tsī shang-1 pien162* »on the table»; *fang;63 tsī li:145 t'ou;181* »in the room». Chu Hi rarely uses a binome as a mere postposition. If a binome like *li:145 mien-176* »inside», which is often met with in the Ts'üanshu, is added to a noun, then this noun is as a rule preceded by *tsai*. Chu Hi quite often employs localizers like *che-162 pien162* »on this side», *na-163 pien162* »on that side» (with pronouns as first member), but no such binomes as *shang-1 pien162* »on», *hia-1 pien162* »below». The binome *li:145 t'ou;181* does occur (cf. chapter III: 3), but not as a postposition. While Chu Hi uses binomes like *shang-1 mien-176* »above», and *hia-1 mien-176* »below» (cf. chapter II: E), we seldom find them used as real postpositions.

Here follow a number of sentences illustrating some postpositions:

#### A. 1—12.

1. 40:39b chu:3 jen9 chī-122 pei75 chok24 tsī *shang-1*  
the host places the cup on the table.
2. 2:21a che-162 sin61 pien-9 *tsai* shen158 *shang-1*  
then this mind is (present) in the body.
3. 1:21a an40 tun-181 *tsai* yi-123 li:96 *shang-1*  
it reposes on the principles of righteousness.
4. 2:29a put kiao66 jen9 *ts'ung;60* ken75 pen:75 *shang-1* tso-9 k'i:156 (Wentsi)  
if we do not teach people to start from the root (of matters).
5. 3:10b tsī-132 kia40 sin61 *hia-1* hop30 yu hü:149 to36 *tao-162* li:96  
the inside of our mind properly has many principles.
6. 6:33a ju ho chī111 tek t'a9 tu:130 li:145 shī-6  
how can we know his inside?
7. 7:24a ju jen9 kia40 li:145 yu tsek154  
as if someone has a thief in his home.
8. 2:13b yu yit1 wut93 *tsai* wo:62 shou:64 li:145 (Wentsi)  
there is an object in my hand.

9. 43:9a wei86 *tsai* hui86 *li*:145  
the burning coal is in the ashes.
10. 7:3b che-162 ko-118 tao-162 li:96 *tsai* sin61 *li*:145  
these principles are in the mind.
11. 2:6a *tsai* k'iang130 tsī *chung2*  
in the breast.
12. 8:1a kien-147 hü:149 to36 tao-162 li:96 tu163 *tsai* yen:109 *ts'ien*;18  
he sees that the many principles are all before his eyes.

#### B. 13—17.

13. 12:43b yit1 ko-118 jen9 *li*:145 *mien-176* pien-9 yu . . . . .  
within a man there is . . . . .
14. 2:1a sin61 put *tsai* k'ok79 tsī *li*:145 *mien-176*  
if the centre is not in the shell.
15. 2:19b fang-66 *tsai* mu75 hiap22 tsī *li*:145 *mien-176*  
and put it in a »mu« box. (Cf. chapter III: 2: B16).
16. 4:3a jan siao:42 lu-157 *mien-176* *ts'ien*;18 yu ko-118 wut93 yin:57 chok  
but in front of the small road there is something inducing.
17. 3:10b shī-6 wut93 *shang-1* *mien-176* kok30 kok30 ye yu hü:149 to36 tao-162  
li:96  
in all things there are also many principles.

#### A. 1—12.

Here the postposition is a simple word. In sentences 1 and 5—7 there is no preposition before the noun. Sentence 11 with the literary *chung2* »inside« after a noun preceded by *tsai* has been included in order to illustrate how Chu Hi uses literary words in his colloquial language. The words *shang-1* (1—4) and *li*:145 (6—10) are very common as postpositions; *hia-1* (5) and *ts'ien*;18 (12), on the other hand, seldom function as postpositions in the Ts'üanshu. *Yen*:109 *ts'ien*;18 in sentence 12 might just as well be treated as a binome preceded by the preposition *tsai* (cf. chapter II:B:41).

#### B. 13—17.

Here we have three binomes, *li*:145 *mien-176*, *mien-176* *ts'ien*;18 and *shang-1* *mien-176* used as postpositions. In 14 and 15 the noun followed by *li*:145 *mien-176* is preceded by *tsai* which, as stated before, is the common pattern. The binome *li*:145 *mien-176* is quite often met with as a postposition, *mien-176* *ts'ien*;18 and *shang-1* *mien-176* are rare in this application. It is, however, highly interesting that this feature with binomes as postpositions exists at all in Chu Hi's colloquial language, as it is very rare in the famous Ming and Ts'ing novels, except for the Hung lou meng.<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> B. Karlgren, New Excursions in Chinese Grammar, p. 64.

## CHAPTER XI

### MISCELLANEOUS

#### § 1. *Shi.*

In the literary language *shī* is a demonstrative with the same meaning as *ts'i* »this». We have seen that Chu Hi uses *ts'i* in his colloquial language (VI:1), but he seldom employs *shī* as a demonstrative. In passages which are predominantly literary we often come across it. *Shī* further means »right, to be right», and in this sense Chu Hi makes a frequent use of *shī* in his colloquial language. He often uses *shī* »right» and *fei* »wrong» as nouns, allowing them to be preceded by the colloquial *ko-118*, as e. g. in *sü181 yu ko-118 shī yu ko-118 fei* »there must be a distinction between right and wrong» (chapter VII:A 7). But the primary function of *shī* is in Chu Hi's language the same as it is today: to serve as a copula. We have in the preceding chapters found a large number of sentences with *shī* as a copula. *Shī* in this function is among the words with the highest frequency in Chu Hi's colloquial language. We have seen how he adjoins it to *chi:30*, *k'üek26*, *pien-9*, and *jok* (chapter IX). In chapter VIII:1 we saw how he — in perfect accord with the modern language — uses it in clauses with the particle *tik*.

Here follow some examples with *shī*:

1. 8:24b t'a9 *shī* p'ak61 che-162 ko-118  
he fears this.
2. 6:12a put *shī* yü na-163 yi;103 ch'u-141 k'an-109  
and not look at the doubtful points.
3. 45:3a kai-140 sin61 pien9 *shī* pao20 tek na-163 sing-61 ts'ing;61  
for the mind includes within it both Nature and the Feelings.
4. 43:33a *shī* yu liang:11 pan137 ming-30 k'üek26 put *shī* yu liang:11 ko-118  
ming-30  
there are two kinds of Decree, not two Decrees
5. 42:7b sü181 *shī* yu ko-118 sin61  
there must be a mind.
6. 16:26a k'üan;75 *shī* tsui-73 nan172 yung-101 tik wut93 shī-6  
power is a thing that is most difficult to use.
7. 6:30a che-162 ch'eng;32 tsī yi:49 *shī* tsī-132 kia40 tik liao  
this city is already mine.

8. 1:10a tsī-132 *shī* jen9 hop30 li:96 hui-73 tik shī-6  
that is something we should pay attention to.
9. 3:9b pien-9 *shī* liang-11 ko-118 yang-75 tsī  
they were of two kinds.
10. 15:41a che-162 shī-6 pien-9 *shī* nan172  
this matter is difficult (cf. next).
11. 3:27b che-162 sin61 put k'uan40  
this mind is not liberal.
12. 7:6b kai-140 t'i'en37 hia-1 chi:30 *shī* yit1 ko-118 tao-162 li:96  
there is only one principle which is universal.
13. 43:38a *shī* . . . pien-9 *shī* shuot149 na-163 hao:38 tik ts'ai;75  
yes. . . hence you speak of useful abilities.
14. 43:38a yu-29 wen-30 ju shuot149 ts'ai;75 liao-68 siang109 sī-9 fou:30. yüet73  
*shī*  
he asked again: Is it not similar to the word materials? (Chu Hi)  
answered: Yes.

In sentences 1—5 *shī* is there to emphasize the principal verb, which is made into a kind of predicative by *shī*. This construction is extremely common in the present-day Mandarin. Sentences 6—8 are some further examples of sentences with *shī* as a copula and *tik* in the predicative (cf. VIII:1) The predicative is a noun in sentence 9, and in sentence 10 it is an adjective. In classical Chinese the adjective functions as a verb, and it does so regularly in the colloquial language as well, e. g. *t'a9 k'iung;116* «he is poor». It is only when the quality expressed by the adjective is to be emphasized that *shī* is inserted. This also pertains to Chu Hi's language: in sentence 10 the adjective is preceded by *shī*, and in sentence 11 the adjective functions as a verb. In sentence 12 *shī* seems to correspond to *yu* in the modern language.

In the modern colloquial language *shī* and *put shī* are very common in a reply to a question. Chu Hi as a rule uses *jan* and *put jan*, but now and then he applies *shī* to which sentences 13 and 14 testify.

## § 2. *Meit.*

The negative which Chu Hi uses most is *put*, the most common negative in the literary as well as in the colloquial language. In chapter IV:1,2 when discussing the perfective aspect we saw that Chu Hi — contrary to modern usage — allows *put* to negate a verb in the perfective aspect. The colloquial *meit* is not a common feature in Chu Hi's colloquial language. He uses it as a synonym of *wu* in the same sense as the modern *meit yu*. This latter expression does not exist at all in the Ts'uanshu. If he uses a negative with the verb *yu*, then it is the literary *wei*.

We shall now examine a few sentences with *meit*, and a couple of sentences have been added which have *put* or *wu*, whereas the present-day language would have *meit (meit yu)*:

1. 44:6a che-162 pien-160 tek yik8 *meit* yi-61 si-61  
the criticism has no meaning in it.
2. 38:41a ye *meit* yi-61 si-61  
it has no sense either.
3. 46:14a si-9 ko-118 *meit* kin:120 yao wut93 shi-6  
it seems to be an unimportant matter.
4. 6:2b tul63 *meit* jen9 ts'ing;61  
they all have no human feelings.
5. 46:15b *meit* ko-118 shi ch'u-141  
there is nothing definite about it.
6. 15:16a chung-109 jen9 *meit* na-163 pen:75 ling:181  
the majority do not have that ability.
7. 44:3a hing;144 tung-19 tul63 *meit* li:96 hui-73 liao  
all the movements were unnoticed.
8. 43:10a keng-73 *meit* fen18 hiao:72 yih  
then still more will you have failed to discriminate.
9. 4:5b sui-162 *put* kien-147 shi94 tsii liao  
then he did not see the lion.
10. 18:31a *wu* yit1 shi-6 *put* li:96 hui-93 kuo-162  
there was nothing that he did not understand.
11. 33:26b tul63 *wu* yik108 liao  
they all are without advantage.
12. 46:3b pien-9 shi *wu* tao-162 li:96 liao  
then we have no ethical principles at all.

The *meit* in sentences 1—6 is the reverse of *yu*. *Meit* functions as a predicate and is followed by an object. This accords with the modern language, although *meit yu* is preferred here. The expressions *meit yi-61 si-61* »have no sense, uninteresting» in 1 and 2 and *meit kin:120 yao* »unimportant» recur now and then. In sentences 7 and 8 *meit* negates a verb which is in the perfective aspect. In the present-day language the auxiliary *liao* is not added to a verb that is so negated. Sentence 8 ends with the literary particle *yih*. Sentences 9 and 10 were met with when dealing with *liao* and *kuo-162* in chapter IV. They are, contrary to modern usage, negated with *put*. In sentences 11 and 12 the negative *wu* corresponds to the modern *meit yu*. Chu Hi quite often employs *wu* in a clause which he ends with the particle *liao*.

### § 3. Some Functions of *yit1*.

Apart from being a numeral the word *yit1* has several other important functions in the colloquial language. Thus the construction *k'an-109 yit1 k'an-109* »to have a look», *wen-30 yit1 wen-30* »to ask a question», *shui-109 yit1 küek147* »to take a nap» is very common indeed. Further *yit1* means »as soon as» when it precedes a verb, e. g. *yit1 kien-147* »as soon as we saw», »on seeing», *yit1 t'ing128* »as soon as we heard». *Yit1* also means »whole» as e. g. in the familiar expression *yit1 lu-157 p'ing;51 an40* »bon voyage». Finally, *yit1* may be said to correspond to the indefinite article in the Western languages. When discussing the classifier *ko-118* in chapter VII it was pointed out that *yit1 ko-118* in Chu Hi's language does not correspond to the indefinite article but means »one». There are just a few isolated cases of *yit1* in the other functions mentioned above:

1. 8:12b chī:30 shī *yit1* lu-157 tu163 tsü-132 k'i76  
it is simply self-deception (all the way).
2. 19:14a *yit1* jan:75 liao pien-9 t'ui-162 put tek  
once you have dyed it, then you cannot take away (the colour).
3. 15:32b *yit1* tuan-69 liao pien-9 put k'o tsiep64  
once you have interrupted then you cannot take it up (again).
4. 14:1b jok put tek Chung-9 kung57 hia-1 mien-176 keng-73 wen-30 *yit1* wen-30  
if we had not known that Chung Kung asked further . . .
5. 43:32 ju ta-37 shui-109 *yit1* küek147  
it is like a man being heavily asleep . . .

## CHAPTER XII

### CONCLUSION

In this survey of the colloquial language, as revealed in the Ts'üanshu, we have seen that Chu Hi was familiar with a majority of the elements that are characteristic of modern *pai hua*. It is evident that many of the most distinctive modern colloquial auxiliaries and particles were current in Chu Hi's time. Now and then we have seen that Chu Hi's use of the colloquial elements which have been discussed deviates from modern usage, but it is no exaggeration to state that, on the whole, he uses them in the same way as they are used today. Furthermore, we have met with colloquial features which were current in the old Mandarin language, e. g. in the Ming and Ts'ing *pai hua* literature, but which are obsolete or belong to high-flown speech today.

From the numerous excerpted sentences — about one thousand — it is evident that the colloquial features are predominant, at any rate in those from the Yülei, but we have also seen that literary form words (auxiliaries, pronouns, particles) are used either along with or as variants of colloquial ones. It is tempting to suggest that some literary form words (e. g. *ts'i*, *kie106*, *chi*) must have been current in the colloquial language of the twelfth century.

On the other hand, we have also seen that a number of colloquial features current in the old Mandarin language (that of the early *pai hua* literature) either occur very sporadically or are entirely missing in the Ts'üanshu.

Thus, reduplication of a verb to express a transitory sense, e. g. *k'an-109 k'an-109* »to have a look» does not exist. Nor does reduplication of words denoting kinship, e. g. *ko30 ko30* »brother» (chapter III:1). Furthermore, the noun-suffix *er;10* is entirely missing (chapter III:2). Moreover, we have seen that such a common colloquial feature as the verb *na64* »to take» coupled with directional complements like *k'u-28*, *lai9*, *shang-1* etc. is not to be found in the Ts'üanshu (chapter IV:8). Modern passive auxiliaries like *ai;64*, *jang-149*, *kip:120* are missing (chapter V:1), and so are modern causatives like *na64*, *jang-149*, *kiao-30*.

When dealing with the pronoun *shenmo* (chapter VI:4) it was pointed out that Chu Hi uses *shenmo* only as an interrogative pronoun, and that he does not use the interrogative final particle *ni30*. Nor does he employ the final interrogative *mo* (*ma*).<sup>1)</sup> As a matter of fact, Chu Hi does not ask very many questions — he

<sup>1)</sup> Nor does Chu Hi seem to favour any literary final interrogative particle.

gives replies to questions — but when we come across a question, there is generally some other interrogative word in it, like *ju ho*, which is quite common, or *na*:163, *shenmo*.

Questions of the »*lai9 put lai9*« type do not exist. The imperative particle *pa-122* is also absent. On the whole, Chu Hi seems to make a sparing use of final particles in his colloquial language. Occasionally we meet with the literary particles *er*:128, *ye*, and *yih*. The common colloquial adverb *hen*:60 »very« is never met with in the Ts'üanshu (chapter IX:12). Chu Hi employs the literary synonym, *shen*-99, which then, in all probability, was still in oral use.

But even if there are a considerable number of modern colloquial features lacking in the Ts'üanshu, it must be admitted that many of the sentences we have examined in the preceding chapters are strikingly modern in their garb, some of them might just as well have been uttered today. What is still more remarkable is that at times Chu Hi and the other Neo-Confucianists also composed their writings — as opposed to the *viva voce* dialogues recorded in the Yülei — in a style approaching the colloquial language (cf. p. 5). As a rule we find the same colloquial elements in similar constructions in the Wentsi as in the Yülei, the difference being that they are much more numerous in the latter than in the former.

We shall now examine two paragraphs from the Ts'üanshu, each of them occupying about one page in the text. They are both under the heading *wei hüek*39 *chi fang*70 »the Method of Studying«. The first paragraph is from the Yülei, and the second from the Wentsi, a letter to one of Chu Hi's disciples. The two paragraphs in question are in book I (küan I) which is strongly permeated with colloquial features, but they do not — as far as colloquial expressions are concerned — differ from the work as a whole.<sup>1)</sup> These two paragraphs may be considered representative of Chu Hi's language, as there appear to be no quotations in them.

#### Yülei: I:20a 4—20b 5:

1. Hüek39 sül181 sien10 li:96 hui-73 na-163 ta-37 tik  
The learner must first understand those important principles.
2. li:96 hui-73 tek ta-37 tik liao, tsiang41 lai9 na-163 li:145 mien-176 siao:42 tik, tsü-132 jan t'ung162 t'ou-162.  
When he has realized the important principles, then those unimportant ones which are included will be grasped spontaneously,
3. kin9 jen9 k'üek26 shi li:96 hui-73 na-163 ta-37 tik put tek  
but nowadays scholars do not pay attention to the important principles and passages.
4. chi:30 k'ü-28 sou64 sün;41 li:145 mien-176 siao:42 siao:42 tsiet118 muk109  
They just pick out the very unimportant paragraphs which are included.

<sup>1)</sup> With the exception of those books largely lacking colloquial features (cf. chapter I).

5. hüek39 wen-30 sül81 shī ta-37 tsin-162 yit1 fan102, fang70 shī yu yik108  
The learner must once make a great advancement; then and not till then will he profit.
6. jok neng yü yit1 ch'u-141 ta-37 ch'u-141 kung66 tek p'o-112  
If he can capture (i. e. understand) one important passage,
7. kien-147 na-163 hü:149 to36 ling173 sui-112 chi30 shī che-162 yit1 ko-118 tao-162 li:96 fang70 shī k'uai-61 huot85  
so that he sees that those many miscellaneous paragraphs are just this one single principle; then and only then will he be at ease.
8. jan ling173 sui-112 tik, fei shī put tang102 li:96 hui-73,  
It is not that attention should not be paid to the miscellaneous items,
9. tan-9 ta-37 ch'u-141 kung66 put p'o-112  
but if the important passages cannot be understood,
10. tsung-120 ling173 sui-112 li:96 hui-73 tek sie7 shao:42 chung120 put k'uai-61 huot85  
even though he understands the miscellaneous (ones) a little, he will never be at ease (happy).
11. Tseng73 Tien:203 Ts'it85 Tiao172-k'ai169 yi:49 kien-147 ta-37 yi-61  
That Tseng Tien and Ts'it Tiao- k'ai understood the general idea was
12. chi:30 yüan;120 t'a9 ta-37 ch'u-141 k'an-109 tek fen18 hiao:72  
because they perceived the important passages (and principles) clearly.
13. kin9 ts'ie:1 tao-162 t'a9 na-163 ta-37 tik shi shen;99 wut93 shi-6  
Now if we say: what are those great principles?
14. t'ien37 hia-1 chi:30 yu yit1 ko-118 tao-162 li:96  
(then the answer is): There is under Heaven just one single principle.
15. hüek39 chi:30 yao li:96 hui-73 tek che-162 yit1 ko-118 tao-162 li:96  
The learner must grasp just this one principle.
16. che-162 li:145 ts'ai;120 t'ung162 tsek  
If this is penetrated, then
17. fan;16 t'ien37 li:96 jen9 yük76 yi-123 li-18 kung12 sül15 shan-30 ok61 chi pien-160 mok put kie106 t'ung162  
the distinction between all heavenly principles, human desires, righteousness, profit, altruism, selfishness, good and bad will be completely penetrated.

Wentsi: 1:29b 1—30a 2:

1. wei hüek39 kung48 fu37 put tsai jit72 yung-101 chi wai-36  
The work of studying is not outside the ordinary matters of life.
2. kien:75 shen158, tsek tung-19 tsing-174 yü:149 mok203  
When investigating yourself (then you should pay attention to) your actions and your rest, your words and your silence.
3. kü44 kia40, tsek shi-6 ts'in147 shi-6 chang:168  
When at home (then you should) serve your parents and elders.

4. k'itung;116 li:96, tsek tuk149 shu73 kiang:149 yi-123  
When investigating the principles, (then you should) read and analyse the meaning.
5. ta-37 ti:64 chi:30 yao fen18 piet18 yit1 ko-118 shi fei er k'ü:28 pi:60 ts'ü:29 ts'i er:128  
On the whole you should only distinguish a right and a wrong, and remove the latter and take hold of the former.
6. wu t'o9 hüan;95 miao-38 chi k'o yen;149 ye  
There is nothing else mysterious to say.
7. lun-149 k'i chi-133 kin-162 chi-133 yi-72 tsek tsik26 kin9 pien-9 k'o yung-101 lik19  
As to what is most near and most easy (about it, i. e. the work of studying) then you may exert your strength at once.
8. lun-149 k'i chi-133 kip61 chi-133 ts'iet18 tsek tsik26 kin9 pien-9 tang102 yung-101 lik19  
As to what is most urgent and pressing, you should exert your strength at once.
9. mok keng-73 ch'i;162 yi;103  
Do not hesitate any more!
10. ts'ie:1 sui;170 shen85 ts'ien;85 yung-101 yit1 jit72 chi lik19, pien-9 yu yit1 jit72 chi hiao-66  
Moreover if you — no matter if deep or shallow — use the strength of one day, then you will see the result of one day.
11. tao-18 yu yi;103 ch'u-141 fang70 hao:38 sün;41 jen9 shang30 liang166  
When you are confronted with doubts, then you had better find someone with whom to consult,
12. tsek k'i chang:168 tsin-162 t'ung162 tat162 put k'o liang166 yih  
and so your advancement and penetration will be immeasurable.
13. jok tsik26 kin9 ts'üan;11 put hia-1 shou:64  
If you entirely neglect to begin at once,
14. pit61 tai;60 t'o9 jit72 yüan:162 k'iu;85 shi50 yu:29 jan hou-60 yung-101 lik19  
(but if you say to yourself) »I'll wait for another time and then find a teacher from afar, and afterwards exert my strength»
15. tsek muk109 hia-1 ts'o157 kuo-162 tsek26 hop30 tso-9 tik ts'in147 ts'iet18 kung48 fu37  
and so at present neglect the urgent work you should do now,
16. hü141 tu-53 liao nan172 tek tik shao-42 chuang-33 shi;72 tsiet118  
and pass in vain the time of youth and vigour which is so (hard to get:) precious.
17. cheng-77 shi:9 t'o9 jit72 tek sheng-128 hien;154 er shi50 chi  
If at another time you obtain a holy man to teach you,

18. *yik*8 *wu* *tsik*115 *lei*:120 *p'ing*;61 *tsie*-140 *chi* *tsi*154  
then you will have no qualification to accumulate stability.
19. *k'o* *shou*-29 *k'ien*;167 *ch'ui*;167 *weih* *pit*61 *neng* *chen*109 *yu* *yik*108 *ye*  
Even if you can be disciplined, it is uncertain that you will really get any benefit.  
Reply to Ch'en;170 Lien53 Fu37.

When comparing these two paragraphs we shall find that the colloquial elements are much more numerous in the paragraph from the Yülei than in the one from the Wentsi. Nevertheless, there are surprisingly many colloquial features in the letter, although the literary grammatical words abound in it. We shall now look at each paragraph separately.

First of all, we shall pay attention to the colloquial features in the paragraph from the Yülei. This paragraph has been divided into 17 periods. The figures within parenthesis refer to the periods in which the words in question occur. The binomes are quite numerous, and some of them occur several times. Seven of them have been listed in chapter II: *fen*18 *hiao*:72 (12), *hü*:149 to36 (7), *k'uai*-61 *huo*85 (7, 10), *li*:145 *mien*-176 (2), *ling*173 *sui*-112 (7, 8, 10), *sou*64 *sün*;41 (4), and *t'ung*162 *t'ou*-162 (2). The word *li*:96 *hui*-73 »to notice, to grasp« — which is still in use — is one of the most common binomes in the Ts'uanshu, if not quite the commonest one. In this short paragraph it occurs no less than six times (1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 15). Its earliest find-place is a text from the Liu-ch'ao period. (It has there the meaning »to notice«). *Li*:96 *hui*-73 also has the sense of »to grasp, to realize« in Neo-Confucian writings, and it was probably in Sung time that the word was first used in this sense. Another binome of which the Neo-Confucianists in general and Chu Hi in particular make frequent use is *wut*93 *shi*-6 (13) »thing«. The earliest source registered for this word is the Sui shu from T'ang time, according to the Ts'i hai. In this text, however, it is used in the sense of »affair«, whereas in Chu Hi's language it means »thing«. The word *wut*93 *shi*-6 is now obsolete. The modern *pai* *hua* has *tung*75 *si*146, which does not exist in the Ts'uanshu. The remaining five binomes in this paragraph, *tao*-162 *li*:96 »principle, doctrine« (7, 14, 15), *t'ien*37 *hia*-1 »universe« (14) *tsiang*41 *lai*9 »in the future, by and by« (2), *tsiet*118 *muk*109 »paragraph« (4), and *tsi*-132 *jan* »naturally« (2) are among the binomes which already existed in the Chou time language, and which have remained current throughout the centuries down to the present day.

We find just one instance of reduplication, *siao*:42 *siao*:42 »very small« (4). No noun-suffixes are to be found. The word *ch'u*-141 occurs in the sense of »passage« (6, 9, 12), but not as a suffix (cf. chapter III:4). The first *ch'u*-141 in period 6 functions as a classifier, or rather as a quantity word.

Three of the auxiliaries discussed in chapter IV are met with: the perfective *lia*o (2), the potential and resultative *tek* (2, 3, 6, 10, 12, 15), and the resultative *p'o*-112 (6, 9). According to the general pattern *p'o*-112 is preceded by *tek* (6) or

by the negative *put* (9). In the third period we find the object between the principal verb *li*:96 *hui*-73 and *put tek*, a common construction in Chu Hi's language (chapter IV:10), but not in use today.

The auxiliaries of the passive voice and of the anteposed object are not represented in this paragraph. There happen to be unusually many cases of the remote-demonstrative *na*-163, no less than five in this short text (1, 2, 3, 7, 13), and only three *che*-162 (7, 15, 16). This is a coincidence, for ordinarily instances of *che*-162 are more numerous than those of *na*-163 (cf. chapter VI:1). The interrogative *shen*;99, common in the old *pai hua*, occurs once (13), and the third person pronoun, *t'a9*, is to be found twice (12, 13). Its function is somewhat ambiguous. It no doubt denotes plural number. In my view the first *t'a9* functions as subject, and the second denotes a partitive genitive. The general classifier *ko*-118 appears in three periods (7, 14, 15), in each case preceded by the numeral *yit*1. The particle *tik* is met with six times (1, 2, 2, 3, 8, 13). In all the cases *tik* turns the preceding word into an attribute to an understood principal word (cf. chapter VIII:1:C). The following conjunctions (adverbs) are to be found: *k'uək*26 (3), *chi*:30 (4, 7, 12, 14, 15), *fang*70 (5, 7), *ts'ai*;120 (16), *tan*-9 (9), and *jok* (6). The copula *shī* occurs six times (3, 5, 7, 7, 8, 13), either alone or in connection with a conjunction, and the auxiliary *yao* once (15). From this enumeration it can be seen that the paragraph under discussion teems with colloquial features. But there are literary ones as well. Thus, the last period is entirely lacking in real colloquial features. It has on several occasions in the present work been suggested that certain literary grammatical features must have belonged to Chu Hi's colloquial language as well, such as the pronouns *ts'i*, *kie*106, *k'i*, *chü*, the particle *chi*, the preposition *tsü*-132. Thus the literary pronouns, conjunctions, etc. in the present paragraph may very well have been used by Chu Hi in his oral language. As compared with the colloquial features just enumerated, the number of cases of literary grammatical features not existing in *pai hua* is insignificant. In period 16 we find the conjunction *tsek* »then, consequently«; Chu Hi quite often uses this word in his colloquial language. In the excerpted sentences on the preceding pages there are many instances of *tsek*. It was stated that Chu Hi did not use the word *tsiu* as a synonym of *pien*-9 (cf. chapter IX:4). It is quite possible that Chu Hi used *teek* — the literary equivalent of *pien*-9 and *tsiu* — in his everyday language. In the last period we find the pronoun *kie*106, a synonym of *tu*163 (cf. chapter VI:3), the particle *chi* (cf. chapter VIII:1:A), and the negative *mok*. The concessive conjunction *tsung*-120 »although« (10) is met with now and then in the Ts'üanshu. It occurs in the present-day language as well, although more often so in connection with *jan*: *tsung*-120 *jan*. *Yuan*;120 »because« (12) is occasionally used by Chu Hi. It does not occur in this application today. The literary *ts'ie*:1 in period 13 is quite often met with in passages reflecting Chu Hi's colloquial language. It may be heard in high-flown speech today. The same pertains to the negative *fei* in the eighth period. As far as the vocabulary is concerned there are several words and phrases which are not used in the same

way in the present-day language. That this is the case, however, does not imply that Chu Hi did not use them in his oral language. Thus the simple word *huek*<sup>39</sup> (1, 15) means »to learn«, but Chu Hi often uses it to indicate the person who learns, »learner«. The binome *huek*<sup>39</sup> *wen-30* (5) means knowledge in the literary as well as in the colloquial language. Even in Chu Hi's language it may have this meaning, but now and then it also refers to the person seeking knowledge, i. e. »learner, student«, as it does in the text under investigation. The language of this text admittedly deviates in many respects from the present-day language; yet I think it is so close to the modern *pai hua* that it can be understood when read aloud.

Now we turn to the second paragraph. The language in this is very straightforward; it may be said to be an »easy wen hua« modified by colloquial features. The difference between the two texts does not lie so much in the vocabulary as in the grammatical structure. Thus, the number of cases of binomes is about as large in this paragraph as it was in the one from the Yülei. But the cases of grammatical colloquial features are by no means so numerous, whereas literary particles and conjunctions are well represented.

Of the binomes occurring in this paragraph the following were met with in chapter II: *hia-1 shou:64* (13), *kung48 fu37* (1, 15), *muk109 hia-1* (15), *shang30 liang166* (11), *tsik115 lei:120* (18), and *ts'in147 ts'iet18* (15). Of these, only three are really common today: *hia-1 shou:64*, *shang30 liang166*, and *tsik115 lei:120*. As to the meaning of *kung48 fu37*, see chapter II:B. The binome *p'ing;61 tsie-140* »to rely on« (18) has a T'ang time text as its earliest find-place, but as Chu Hi seldom uses it, and as it is not current today, it was not included in the list of binomes in chapter II. *K'ien;167 ch'ui;167* (19) may also be considered to be a binome. Its meaning is ambiguous. I take it to be used in a figurative sense: »discipline«. It is registered in the Peiwen, though with another character for *ch'ui;167* pronounced in the same way and with a similar meaning to the one used in the text (see *ch'ui;167* in the character index, character a) is the one in the text and b) the one in Peiwen). The Peiwen gives a Yüan text as earliest source for this binome. *Fen18 piet18* »to distinguish« (5) is a common word in the Ts'uanshu, and so it is today. Its earliest recorded text is from the Liu-ch'ao period. *Chang:168 tsin-162* »advancement« (12) is recorded from a third century text. *Huan;95 miao-38* »abstruse« (6), *shi;72 tsiet118* »time« (16), and *ta-37 ti:64* »in general« (5), all current today, have Han time texts as earliest recorded examples. The remaining binomes in this paragraph are to be found in the classical language: *ji72 yung-101* »daily use« (1), *tuk149 shu73* »to study« (4), *yung-101 lik19* »to exert oneself« (7, 8, 14), which are current today, and *sheng-128 hien;154* »sage« (17), *t'ung162 tat162* »thorough perception« (12), which do not exactly belong to the everyday language, but which are used in literary allusions.

In period 11 we find a case of the noun-suffix *ch'u-141: yi;103 ch'u-141* »doubts. Yet, this word might possibly be taken to be a binome. We have thus seen that the number of binomes in this short paragraph is considerable. It is, however, evident

that these binomes are on the whole less frequent today than those in the paragraph from the Yülei.

There are only two cases of auxiliaries placed after the principal verb, against ten cases in the former paragraph: *liao* (16), and *kuo-162* (15). One is even in doubt as to whether to treat this *kuo-162* as an auxiliary or as a component of a binome. There is one instance of the auxiliary *yao* (5), which here, as in most cases when Chu Hi uses it, expresses necessity.

In the paragraph from the Yülei there were no less than 11 cases of colloquial pronouns. In this one there is none. The general classifier *ko-118* occurs once(5). It precedes *shí fei* »right and wrong», which quite often happens in Chu Hi's language (cf. chapter XI:1). The particle *tik* occurs twice (15, 16). In both cases it turns a verb into an attribute, a function which *tik* very often has in Chu Hi's language as well as in the present-day language (cf. chapter VIII:1:D). The following colloquial conjunctions occur: *chi:30* (5), *pien-9* (7, 8, 10) *fang70* (11), and *jok* (13). *Pien-9* appears in two clauses with a similar construction: the clause is introduced by the conjunction *tsek*, and then comes *tsik26 kin9* »at once», which may be looked upon as a binominal adverb, and then follows *pien-9*. Chu Hi quite often accumulates words of similar meanings like this. Two prepositions common in the modern *pai hua* are to be found in this text: *tsai* (1) and *tao-18* (11).

If we count all the instances of the literary grammatical words in the two paragraphs we shall find that there are more than three times as many cases of such words in the paragraph from the Wentsi as in that from the Yülei. When examining these literary features we shall first pay attention to the final particles. There are two cases of *ye* (6, 19), and one each of *er:128* (5), and *yih* (12). It has been said before that Chu Hi occasionally employs these particles in his colloquial language (p. 138).

The possessive pronoun *k'i* occurs three times (7, 8, 12). The word *chi* functions as a personal pronoun once (17). In period 5 we find the demonstratives *pi:60* and *ts'i* in opposition to each other. The pronoun *t'o9* »another» is met with in periods 6, 14, and 17. There are five cases of the particle *chi* (1, 6, 10, 10, 18), all but one of which denote the genitive. The exception is to be found in period 6. There *chi* turns an adjective into a noun, an unusual function of *chi* in Chu Hi's language. The conjunction *tsek* occurs no less than seven times, and *tsik26* four times (including the two cases in *tsik26 kin9* referred to above). The literary adverb *chi-133* occurs several times. Attention might be drawn to quite a few other literary features, but those already enumerated will suffice.

H. Maspero says that the style of the Neo-Confucianists approaches the colloquial language (cf. quotation on p. 5). But then Maspero<sup>1)</sup> continues: »Mais ces divers textes ne nous font pas remonter plus haut que le milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. D'autre part, quelque intéressants qu'ils soient, ils présentent un grave inconvénient: bien que les uns et les autres emploient des expressions de la langue parlée, on ne peut

<sup>1)</sup> H. Maspero, *op. cit.* p. 1.

dire (surtout de ceux des philosophes) qu'ils soient rédigés véritablement en cette langue; ils en prennent quelques formes grammaticales, mais non les tours de phrases et le style propre, qu'ils remplacent constamment par une imitation du style écrit. Ils ne nous rendent pas le langage, les expressions, les tournures qu'employaient les Chinois au temps des Song.» Now H. Maspero seems to admit that Chu Hi's style is closer to the spoken language than that of the other (Sung time) philosophers. Yet it is, in his opinion, only an imitation of the literary language with a few colloquial features in it, and it does not reflect the *pai hua* of the Sung era. Even if it is true that the style Chu Hi uses in the Wentsi does not reflect his oral language, I think it is an exaggeration to maintain that, as far as phraseology is concerned, it is merely an imitation of the literary language. In view of the fact that colloquial features are easily found in the Wentsi and that quite a few of the literary form words most probably belonged to Chu Hi's colloquial language, I think it is no over-estimation to say that Chu Hi's literary style approaches his oral language.

Regarding the Yülei, I am convinced that the numerous sentences discussed in the preceding pages — of many of which it has been said that they would be understood today when read aloud — will corroborate the statement that the language of the Yülei reflects the spoken language of the twelfth century.

In order to visualize this, attention will be drawn afresh to a few of the sentences with several colloquial features in them (the figures within parenthesis indicate where the sentences in question are to be found in this paper):

1. 19:14a yit1 jan:75 liao pien-9 t'ui-162 put tek  
once you have dyed it, then you cannot take away (the new colour).  
(IV:1:7).
2. 19:23a kuo-162 ki:52 jit72 yu-29 wang-61 liao  
after a few days he has forgotten it. (IV:1:10).
3. 6:64b shuot149 tek t'ai-37 hao:38 liao  
he has said it too well. (IV:1:35).
4. 46:14a jan na-163 hü:149 to36 tao-162 li:96 pien-9 tul63 tsai che-162 shang-1  
but those many principles are all to be found here. (VI:2:15).
5. 30:47a tul63 shi che-162 yit1 ko-118 yi-61 si-61  
all has this one sense. (VI:39).
6. 17:12b ni:9 jok put ts'ung:60 ta9, t':a9pien-9 shat79 liao ni:9  
if you do not obey him, then he will kill you. (VI:7:18).
7. 8:24b t'a9 shi p'ak61 che-162 ko-118  
he fears this. (VI:7:26).
8. 42:10b chü:30 shi ts'ai;120 yu ko-118 shan-30 tik, pien-9 yu ko-118 put shan-30  
tik  
but the moment the good appears, there immediately appears with  
it the not good. (VII:16).

9. 4:12b nan<sup>172</sup> hiao<sup>:72</sup> tik hua<sup>-149</sup>  
words which are hard to understand. (VIII:1:19).
10. 12:37b chī<sup>:30</sup> shī yao p'ien<sup>;9</sup> yi<sup>;40</sup> tik jen<sup>9</sup>  
that refers only to people who seek advantages. (VIII:1:22).
11. 5:1a ni<sup>:9</sup> put hiao<sup>:72</sup> tek tik wo<sup>:62</sup> shuot<sup>149</sup> tsai che<sup>-162</sup> li<sup>:145</sup>  
I shall explain what you do not understand. (VIII:1:28).
12. 60:23a so yi put shik<sup>149</sup> tsi<sup>-39</sup> tik jen<sup>9</sup>  
therefore people who cannot read. (IX:10:6).

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**INDEX OF CHARACTERS OCCURRING IN THE EXCERPTED  
SENTENCES, AND IN THE COMMENTARY**

1. ai-61	33. chi-85	64. chung61	95. ch'u;170
2. ai-112	34. chik109	65. chung-109	96. ch'uan;9
3. an40	35. chill11	66. chung:115	97 a, b. ch'ui;167
4. an-72	36. chi-116	67. chung-115	98. ch'ung;166
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# A CHINESE BRONZE WITH CENTRAL-ASIATIC MOTIVES

BY

*OTTO MAENCHEN-HELFEN*

Among the many strange Chinese bronze vessels of the last centuries B. C. the *ho* with the tiger handle in the British Museum (fig. 1) is one of the strangest. When, where, and under what circumstances it was found is not known. To judge by the smooth patina, the piece must have gone through many hands before the famous statesman and collector Tuan Fang acquired it (68,<sup>1</sup> V, 2 a/b, drawing, ink squeeze, and brief description). After his death in 1911 it was, for a while, in the P'u-lun collection. Then it came into the possession of Mr. Hans Jürgen Lochow (56, No. 20, p. 57) from whom the British Museum purchased it in 1955 (No. 1955.7.6.1). While the authenticity of the *ho* cannot be doubted, the inscription, incised on the rim (fig. 2), is not above suspicion.

The arrangement of the lines is queer: three lines in the middle are flanked by one line, perpendicular to them, on the left and two lines, also perpendicular, on the right. Following the ghost writers who compiled the catalogue of the Tuan Fang collection, Jung Keng in 1931 (29, IV, 14 a, rubbing; *shih wen* 2 a, No. 377, transcription) and Huang Hsün (25, III, 14) read the middle lines (I) as *Shao* (I a) *kung ho kuan ssü tou shao pan tou*, 'Shao Palace, ho, four official tou less half a tou'. Jung Keng, rejecting Tuan Fang's identification of *shao kung* with a palace of the kings of Ch'in, dated the inscription in the Han period. Ten years later he revised his opinion about both the reading and the date (30, I, p. 290). He now took — rightly, as I think — the first character to be *shao* (I b) as in some early Chou inscriptions where it was used for *chao*, 'bright' (33, 1131, t—y, m). His revised classification of the inscription as of the period of the Warring States is less convincing; its ductus seems to me to point rather to Han.

*Ho kung kung kan* (II) makes no sense. The difference between *ho* in (I) and (II) is so striking that one can hardly believe the two characters were written by the same hand. In (III) the characters are mixed up. Instead of '23 chin 15 10 liang' the line should run '23 chin 10 liang 15'. Whether '15' is the number of the vessel in a set, or an inventory, or indicates the number of *shu*, the twentyfourth part of a *liang*, cannot be decided. I do not maintain that the inscription is faked. But the two different *ho*, the meaningless (II) and the mix-up in (III) do not inspire confidence in its authenticity.

On the artistic merit of the bronze there may be varying opinions. Professor

<sup>1)</sup> Figures in italics refer to the bibliography.

Ecke in his introduction to the Lochow catalogue calls it a masterpiece: 'Von ähnlicher bronzer Wucht ist die Kanne mit dem Tigerhenkel . . . Dieser Tiger wirkt wie ein Symbol der Herrschaft, man könnte sich zu solchem Gefäß keinen anderen Henkel vorstellen.' The *Shao kung Ho* can be compared to a small group of Shang and early Chou pouring vessels, best represented by an admirable specimen with a most elegant long tubular spout in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (BMFEA 21, 1949, pl. 12: 2)<sup>1)</sup>. In the later bronze the spout has shrunk to an ungainly stump.<sup>2)</sup> Does the tiger handle really fit the body so well? It was, I believe, first of all the handle which made Jung Keng set the piece apart as *i chih*, 'strange'. The just mentioned pouring vessels have swing handles. In the *ho* class only the three famous Nedzu bronzes have handles in the form of arched animals; the common loop handles often have an animal's head on the upper part. But the tiger handle is not only without parallel among the hundreds of *ho*; there exists no counterpart to it on any vessel in Chou or Han art. What distinguishes it from all other animal handles are the back and the legs. The animals of the other handles are nearly always arched, whether the back or the belly forms the convexity of the arch (72, p. 52) which, in some cases, is an almost perfect hemicircle.<sup>3)</sup> The limbs are doubled up and merge with the contour of the vessel. In the rare cases where the animal is standing,<sup>4)</sup> the legs are slanted, not perpendicular to the vessel as in the *Shao kung ho*, and the contour of head, back, and tail forms a graceful undulating line quite different from the stiff silhouette of the tiger which looks as if it were stuffed. The only parallel to it is the tiger sculpture on an axe, separated from the *ho* by a millennium; Max Loehr recognized the alien character of the sculpture (44, p. 6, fig. 5; p. 34 n. 13).

The comma-shaped figures on the tiger (fig. 3) have numerous parallels in late Chou art. Whether they are inlaid or, as in our specimen, filled with transverse or slanting lines, they are all, as B. Karlgren has proved (32, pp. 108—109), of foreign origin. In Scythia they can be traced back to the fifth,<sup>5)</sup> in Pazyryk to the fourth

<sup>1)</sup> In 30, I, p. 418 and 26, I, No. 63 such vessels are listed as *yu*.

<sup>2)</sup> With ovoid bodies short spouts go well together, BMFEA 24, 1952, pl. 61: 22 (clay); 71, p. 154; 43, pl. XLV (bronze).

<sup>3)</sup> I am puzzled by Yetts's assertion (72, p. 52) that the tiger handle — he refers to Huang Hsin's catalogue — differs little from the animals forming the handles of the Persian bowl in the Hermitage illustrated in G. Borovka, Scythian Art, New York 1928, pl. 58. The handles of the two pieces are entirely different. Yetts seems to have mixed up his notes. Bachhofer (5, p. 38) maintains that the transformation of the handles into animals was an invention of the tenth century B. C. He does not state his reasons and I doubt whether there are any. The bronze basins in 41, pls. 3—4, may very well be much earlier; their handles have, by the way, nothing to do with the tiger handle.

<sup>4)</sup> Dragons on a stove (30, II, pl. 97, No. 173); tigers on a *hsien* (9, pl. 28) and the lid of a *shun yü* drum (30, II, pl. 513, figs. 978, 979).

<sup>5)</sup> The Voronezh kurgans (Mastiugino, Chastye Kurgany) are to be dated to the fourth century B. C. (51, p. 477). The arbitrary use of the motive for the representation of the wings of a griffin on a gold plaque in kurgan II of the Chastye Kurgans (73, p. 21, fig. 7: 11) shows that it must be considerably older. It apparently occurs also on a bronze decoration in kurgan XI (73, p. 38, fig. 27: 4).

century B. C.<sup>1)</sup>; they are quite common on the so-called Ordos bronzes. To regard all Chinese bronzes with comma- or pear-shaped figures as cast in the border regions and/or under foreign influence would be risky; once the Chinese had adopted the motive they used it as just another device to decorate the bodies of animals. Still its occurrence on the tiger handle makes one wonder whether the beast may not have something else in common with the art of the barbarians to the west of China.

The similarity between it and the handles of two gold cups from South Russia is striking. The first of them (fig. 4), two and a half inches high, was found in 1864 in a barrow called Khokhlach near Novocherkask on the lower Don;<sup>2)</sup> the other one (fig. 5) comes from Migulinskaia Stanitsa in the same neighborhood (59, pl. X, 25). The legs of the stiff, crudely fashioned beast are straight like those of the tiger, their backs not arched but 'natural'. What the handles represent is difficult to say. Rostovtsev (52, p. 49) took the Novocherkask animal to be a reindeer; the other one might be a sheep. Both were, and partly still are, inlaid, which makes their resemblance to the tiger even more remarkable. The comma-shaped figures on it correspond exactly to the inlays on the Novocherkask beast.

The Novocherkask cup is not easy to date. Rostovtsev, who made the most thorough study of the find, which apparently comprises things of different origin, would not exclude the possibility that its bulk belonged to the late Hellenistic period; the latest date he would admit was the first or second century A. D. (51, p. 581). The Greek inscription in dotted letters on the cup from Migulinskaia Stanitsa gives the name of the owner, Xebanocus, and the maker, Taroulas. The first is a Sarmatian, the latter a Thracian name well attested in the Bosporan kingdom (74, pp. 277—278) where, probably in Panticapaeum, the present Kerch, the piece must have been cast. Whatever the exact date of the cups may be, they cannot be much earlier than the beginning of our era and not later than about A. D. 200.<sup>3)</sup> At that time the Don region was held by Sarmatians.

To assume that a Chinese artisan made the *Shao kung Ho* in imitation of cups with animal handles from the Don would be plainly absurd. In the Han period there existed some trade connections between China and South Russia but they were tenuous and indirect. Chinese jade scabbard slides (18, pp. 81—82) and mirrors (50, XIII, pl. 41: b) have come to light from Sarmatian graves on the lower Volga; a piece of Chinese silk was found in Kerch (65). These Chinese objects were evidently bartered from tribe to tribe until they finally reached the Sarmatians. It is most unlikely that the uncouth barbarians should have produced anything that could find a market in China. Yet the close relationship between the Chinese handle and the Sarmatian pieces is undeniable. It can only be explained by postulating the

<sup>1)</sup> 53, figs. 71, 74, 75, 156, 157, etc. The attempts to bring the date of the Pazyrk kurgans down to the second or even the first century B. C. have been convincingly refuted by Rudenko (54, pp. 301—306).

<sup>2)</sup> 38, p. 495, fig. 452: 59, pl. X, 26 (our plate); 47, p. 235, fig. 144.

<sup>3)</sup> The date — third century A. D. — suggested by M. Ebert (50, IX, p. 131), followed by L. Halphen (21, p. 100), is too late.

occurrence of similar vessels in territories which were much closer to China and, at the same time, in communication with the vast hinterland of the Black Sea. The gap between Novocherkask and western China is, indeed, bridged by a group of pottery vessels with handles in the form of animals.

In the first centuries A. D. the Sarmatians in the Bosporan kingdom, the lower Don region, on the Kuban, and in Dagestan made clay vessels, mostly pitchers, with theriomorphic handles. Since 1941, when K. M. Skalon published the basic monograph on them (58), every year has brought new material to light (34, pp. 247—255; 39, pp. 89—94; 35\*, pp. 402—405; 1, p. 75, fig. 30; 10, p. 107, fig. 43: 3; 2, p. 91, fig. 28: 1). A large part is of poor quality; the potters of Panticapaeum did rather sloppy work. How good an animal handle can be is illustrated by the horse from Tarki with its saddle and harness adorned with phalerae (fig. 6; 60, p. 265, fig. 19: 1). It shows that there exists no essential difference between pottery and metal work; the horse could be easily translated into bronze or gold. Stylistically and functionally the handles of the gold cups, the Tarki horse, and the pitchers from Tanais (fig. 7, 37, p. 146, fig. 54) belong together.

There are no such vessels from the Scythian and early Sarmatian periods in South Russia. The fact that they do not occur in Iazygian graves in Hungary<sup>1)</sup> proves that they were unknown to the western Sarmatians at the beginning of our era. They are poorly represented among the finds from the lower Volga (55, p. 71; 49, p. 57, fig. 87; 69, p. 72, fig. 10); in the Astrakhan region they appear only in the second and third centuries (60, p. 265). The new fashion came from the east, reaching the Bosporus in the first half of the first century A. D. or, perhaps, somewhat earlier. Vessels with zoomorphic handles are, indeed, distributed over a wide area east of the Caspian Sea. Tolstov found them in Khwarezm (66, p. 175; 67, pl. 77: 1), Shishkin in Termez, the ancient Demetrias, on the Amu Darya (57, p. 126, fig. 28). They have been excavated in the oasis Karshi on the Kashka Darya (31, p. 169, fig. 10) and on the lower Kafirnigan river in Tadzhikistan (14, p. 287, fig. 22). Particularly numerous are the finds from the Tashkent area (58, p. 210; 63; 64, fig. 69, XXIX: 1—3). Until recently animal handles were known only from western-most Ferghana (16, p. 76, fig. 49: 3; 17, p. 345, fig. 13: 1, p. 346, fig. 15: 2). Now they have been found in the Osh district (6, p. 94), only 80 miles from the border of Chinese Turkestan.<sup>2)</sup>

The ubiquitous ram outnumbers by far the other animals, the boar (in the Bosporus and western Ferghana), bear (Volga), horse (Dagestan), fox, and wolf (Central Asia). While they are fairly realistically rendered on the earlier vessels, later they become increasingly shapeless, finally to be reduced either to an ornamentalized part of

<sup>1)</sup> The jug from Orosháza (48, pl. CXXV: 12) is an import, see 34, p. 254, fig. 10; 39, p. 109. Another jug of this shape, with the same handle, was found in Vienna-Leopoldau (7).

<sup>2)</sup> While the pottery vessels of Central Asia have repeatedly been compared with South Russian ones, Bernshtam (8, pp. 154—155) was, so far as I know, the only one to refer to the Novocherkassk cup.

the body, e. g. the horns of the ram, or pipelike straight and round lines.<sup>1)</sup> It would be impossible to recognize animals in the later handles, could we not follow the development through all its stages. In some regions the completely schematized animals lingered on as late as the beginning of the second millennium (e. g., 36, pp. 344—345, figs. 1—3; 3, p. 122, fig. 3).

In Central Asia the animal handles can be traced back to the last centuries B. C.; in Dzhanbaz-kala which Tolstov dates between the fourth and first century B. C. the animals are already quite abstract (67, pp. 88, 195). Where the form originated cannot be determined as long as we know so little about contemporaneous Persian pottery and metal work. Herzfeld (23, p. 121) may have been right in connecting the Novocherkask cup with later Luristan vessels, but there lies more than a millennium between them and the cup (11, p. 210). The fanciful Achaemenid handles are only distantly, if at all, related to those discussed in this paper. However, the fact that they were copied as far west as Lorraine (27, pp. 37—38, figs. 178—179) and as far east as central China (72, p. 52, pl. XVI, the famous *Huang-ch'ih Hu*) renders the spread of handles of the Novocherkask type from Persia to the north at least conceivable. But we are at present not concerned with the ultimate origin of the animal handles. What matters is their occurrence, in forms comparable to the Chinese tiger handle, in a wide belt from the Don to the neighborhood of Kashgar at a period corresponding to the very end of the Chou and throughout the Han period. Although the vessels, with the exception of the gold cups and a few cut out of alabaster, are made of clay, it may be assumed that the people who made them also cast bronze vessels with such handles. So far none have been found in situ. But there are two bronze cauldrons undoubtedly related to the pottery vessels; one in the David-Weill collection (fig. 8, 28, pl. XI: 5) has a horse handle and what looks like a spout ending in a ram's head, the other, in the Folkwang Museum, Essen (fig. 9),<sup>2)</sup> has two horse handles. Cauldrons of this shape and with such handles have no counterparts among the Ordos bronzes (15, pp. 173—191); they are foreign to the late bronze and iron age in South Siberia (42). No pottery vessels with animal handles have been found in the Altai region; they are absent from the Semirechie, the basins of the Issik-kul and the Balkash (8, p. 123). In other words, the cauldrons must come from Central Asia.

The study of the foreign elements in early Chinese art has been rather one-sided. For fifty years western archaeologists have been staring at the Minusinsk bronzes. It is true that the burials in the upper Yenisei valley have yielded an amazing amount of material which sheds much light on late Chou and Han art. But it is equally true that we have been paying so much attention to it because a good part is available in German and French publications. Since Han times China had much closer political and economic relations with Central Asia than with southern Siberia.

<sup>1)</sup> For the Bosphorus see 58, 34, 39; for Central Asia 20, p. 54; 8, pp. 153—155; 13, pp. 47—49.

<sup>2)</sup> I heartily thank Professor Max Loehr for allowing me to reproduce his photograph.

The just mentioned *Huang-ch'ih Hu* proves that impulses from western regions reached China as early as the fifth century B. C. At that time China had no direct contact with Persia. It must have been in an outlying province of Persian art, broadly speaking somewhere in Central Asia, that the Chinese became acquainted with handles of the *Huang ch'ih Hu* type. The recent finds from Issyk in Kazakhstan point to the same area. The bronze horseman with a beaker in his hand (fig. 10, 45, p. 154, fig. 66: 1) datable in the fourth or third century B. C., and the well known Chinese servant figures (4) belong together. The group from Issyk shows the high artistic level and the technical perfection of 'barbarian' work in a territory which so far has been practically ignored by students of early Chinese art. I believe that all the data we have speak for the derivation of the tiger handle from the animal handles of Central Asia, perhaps more directly from those in Ferghana.

This assumption seems to be strengthened by the finds from Wu-hsi, midway between Shanghai and Nanking, where in April 1955 roadworkers uncovered a grave on a slope in an orchard. The rectangular pit contained 30 pottery vessels of various shapes (70). Some of them were glazed, roundbottomed, and slightly coarser than similar pieces from Han tombs. The other group consists of 15 pieces of brown stoneware with impressed patterns, thrown on the wheel (figs. 11, 12). These vessels are unique. Such broad flat bottoms occur neither in late Chou nor Han pottery but they are quite characteristic of central Asiatic pottery of the beginning of our era (61, p. 140; fig. 7, p. 142, fig. 8; 4—15; 62, p. 8). And then there are the animal handles, quite different from those on Chinese vessels of the last centuries of the Chou period like the three-legged *hu*'s from Honan (24, p. 76, pl. 19: 73, 74; 12, p. 96, fig. 6: 1) and different also from those of Han times like the covered vase in the British Museum (19, pl. 2). Not only are the latter artistically vastly superior to the crude figures from Wu-hsi. With gracefully arched bodies and heads turned round to look backwards over the shoulders, they stay entirely within the long Chinese tradition. Like the quite unusual flat bottoms, the impressed patterns, too, point to the barbarians. The one is a variant of the plait pattern (32, p. 100).<sup>1)</sup> the other, with its zigzag lines, occurs on a clay bottle from the Talas river valley (22, pl. VII, fig. 1). The Wu-hsi pottery is, like the tiger handle, in all probability of central Asiatic origin.

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<sup>1)</sup> Similar on a glass disc in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (35<sup>b</sup>, pl. XIV, 145).

## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>BMFEA</b>	Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.
<b>KS</b>	Kratkie soobshcheniiia instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury.
<b>MIA</b>	Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR.
<b>SA</b>	Sovetskaiia arkheologiiia.
<b>VDI</b>	Vestnik drevnei istorii.

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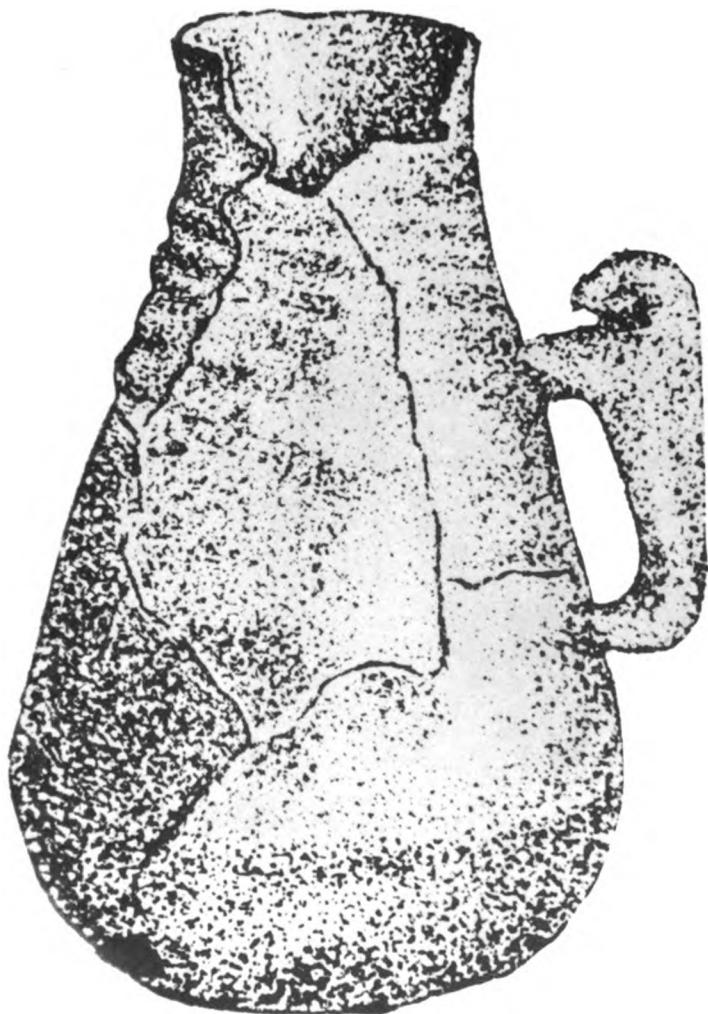
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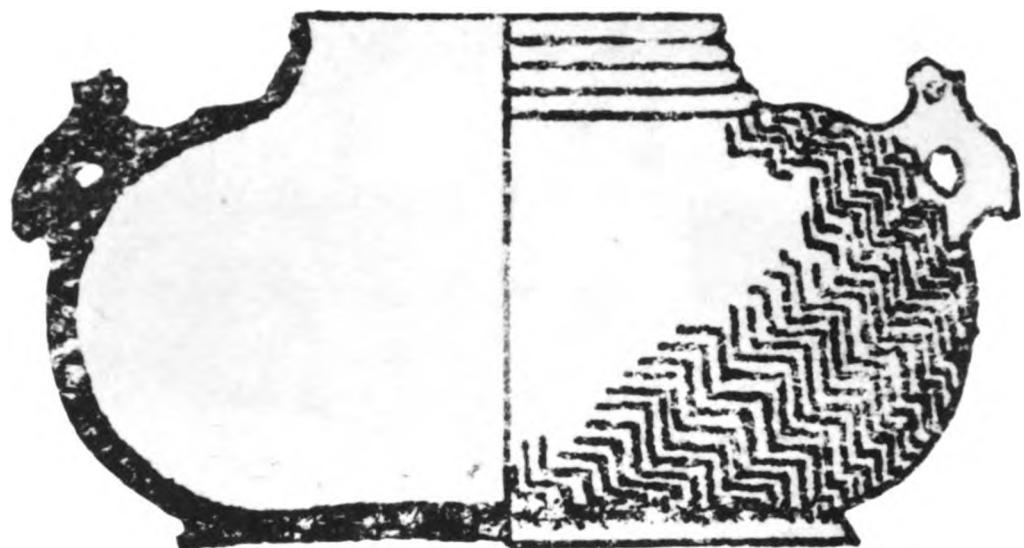




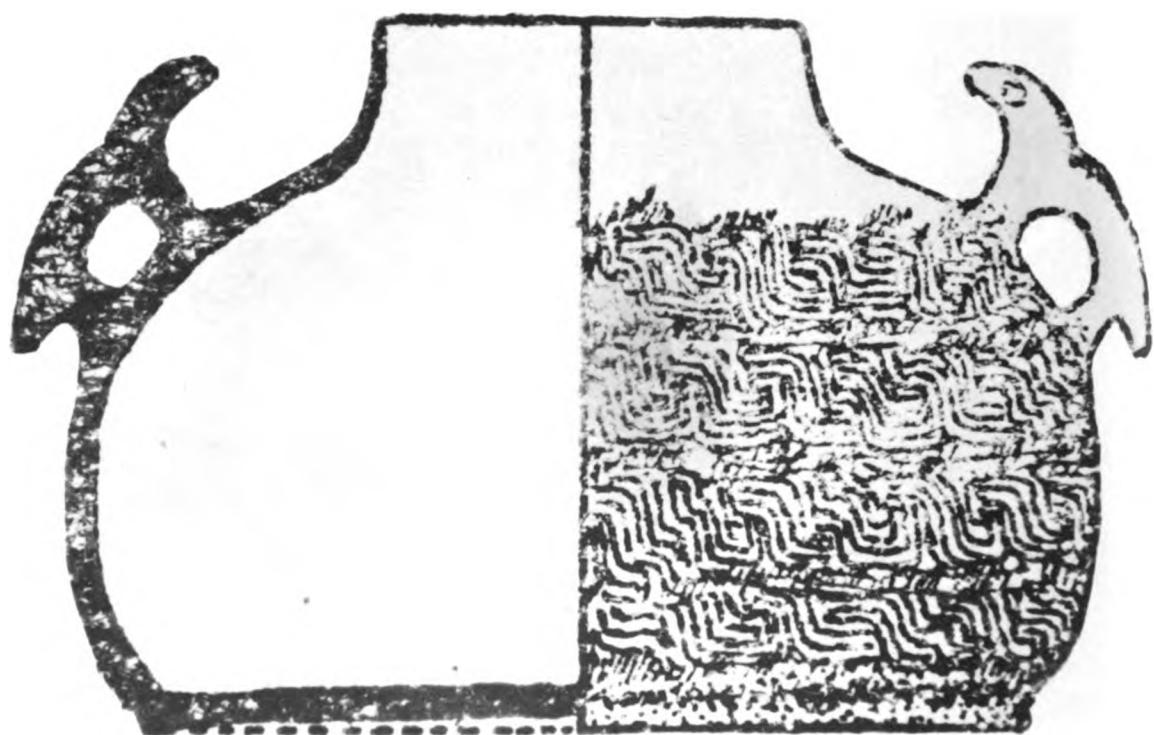
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# BRONZES IN THE WESSÉN COLLECTION

BY

*BERNHARD KARLGREN*

In recent years various exhibitions of Chinese art<sup>1)</sup> have shown some early bronzes of great beauty belonging to Dr. N. D. T. Wessén in Stockholm. Dr. Wessén has, in fact, built up a considerable collection of great interest from the scholarly point of view, and a descriptive publication of its principal items will be given here.<sup>2)</sup>

## 1. Square Yi, Pls. 1—3.

It is usual to reserve the term *Yi* 'vessel' for this casket-shaped object, though there are no inscriptions which make the word *yi* a technical name for this particular shape. The latter seems to represent some kind of house (granary?), with the knob formed as a diminutive roof.

The present *Yi* is an exquisite specimen of the very highest quality. The body is divided by shallow grooves into a neck belt, a principal belt and a foot belt. The latter is set off in a marked way by a gap in the stout scored vertical flanges, which divide the whole into eight panels. The bottom of the vessel is on a level with the lower groove.

The décor, in low, flat relief bands filled with large-scale rounded incised spirals, against a background of dense and fine-lined rounded spirals, offers several interesting features. In the first place, the mask *T'ao-t'ie*, flanked by vertical dragons, in the principal field has a mouth-line consisting of a long horizontal band, ending in bold curves. This fashioning of the mouth, common on the square *Yi* vessels, for instance those mentioned below, is very rare on other vessels, though not unknown: it occurs on a large *Kia* in the MFEA (BMFEA 9, 1937, Pl. XXV), on a *Kia* in the Hakuzuru Museum (Hakkaku, Pl. 18) and a few others. In the second place, there is the curious feature that there are dragons of different types in the three belts: in the foot belt a gaping dragon with straight body, backward-turned tail and recumbent comma-shaped horns; in the neck belt trunked dragons with down-curving tail, tufts on the back and recumbent C horns; in the principal belt trunked dragons with down-curving tail, bottle horns and a border in lower relief along the back, filled with scales (a very rare feature indeed, occurring almost

<sup>1)</sup> In Copenhagen 1950 (see under Leth in the bibliography at the end of this article), in Venice 1954 (see under Dubosc) and in Helsingfors 1956 (see under Gyllensvärd).

<sup>2)</sup> The descriptions are in part based on notes made by Dr. Wessén himself.

exclusively on square Yi kindred to this). The latter dragons at the same time form the horns of the T'ao-t'ie, a feature that is likewise quite rare: we find it, however, for instance on a square Yi in Trautmann VIII, on a square Ting in Lo-chow V, on a Chi in Trautmann XIV, on a Hu in Yechung III, Pl. 29, on an unusual square vessel in Shūkan Pl. XVI. Observe that the T'ao-t'ie on the lid of our vessel has ordinary S horns, yet there is the same border, filled with scales, as that mentioned above.

A very peculiar detail and exceedingly rare (for a parallel on a Lei in the Art Institute of Chicago see Kelley Pl. XI) is a very realistic cicada in high relief on the inside of the lid, in the ridge of the roof — evidently a magical feature of auspicious character (shan 'cicada' = shan 'good').» (Pl. 3).

There are several square Yi reminiscent of the present one, in various collections. Only approximately similar (shape, flanges, mouth-line of T'ao-t'ie) is the one in Eumorfopoulos I, Pl. XV. Closely resembling it is a Yi in the Nelson Gallery of Art (Cernuschi, Pl. XV). Still more alike is one in the Metropolitan Museum of N. Y. (Waterbury Pl. 10), which is quite identical with the Wessén vessel, though it is smaller (9 inches, cf. below). Even more important is the vessel excavated by the Academia Sinica in Hou kia chuang at An-yang, first published in the Illustrated London News Apr. 1936, then in K'ao ku hüe pao 1954: 1, and now again in Li Chi, The beginnings of Chinese Civilization (1957). It is exactly like our vessel here in every detail, but is stated (in the Ill. L. N.) to be more than double the size of the latter. In any case the parallel strongly confirms the information that our vessel here comes from An-yang, and we may take it that it is from Yin time.

Inside both vessel and lid there is an inscription of one character (Pl. 37, Fig. b): a bird carrying on its head a dagger-axe; meaning unknown.

Yin, A style. Height: 30 cm. Weight: 4.3 kg. Patina: smooth greyish green with some blue and green incrustations.

Previously published: S. H. Hansford in JRAS 1949; Leth, No. 1; Dubosc, No. 39.

## 2. Li-ting, Pl. 4.

This vessel is a fine representative of a type that is quite common, with good specimens in various collections. The present vessel is of high quality, with considerable precision and finesse in the details. The décor is the traditional one: against a background of spirals in very minute and precise lines a mask T'ao-t'ie in bold relief, flanked by vertical dragons — this repeated three times, corresponding to the three legs. Observe the magically significant scale, as ear, cf. BMFEA 24, 1952, pp. 18—25. There is a Li-ting exactly like our vessel here and with the same inscription in Lo Chen-yü's Mengwei, Sü, Pl. 4. The inscription (Pl. 37 f), on the inside between the handles, has, above, a (»ya-hing», i. e.:) ts'ung 'ancestral temple object', enclosing some undecipherable characters (in Siao kiao king ko

kin wen 2: 16 deciphered as mu 'evening' and shou 'animal', which makes no sense unless it is a name); below this: Fu Ting »Father Ting». This is a Yin-time inscription recurring, for instance, on a Yu in Yechung III: 32. Our vessel has belonged to the Lochow collection (Lochow III). Yin, A style. Height (with handles): 20.5 cm. Weight: 2.25 kg. Patina: bluish grey, smooth and lustrous.

### 3. Kuei, Pls. 5,6.

This is one of the finest specimens in its class. Earless Kuei in A style are not very common, and I know of no exact counterpart to this vessel (the nearest in type being a Kuei in the Minneapolis museum, Pillsbury, Pl. 54, though this differs in shape, as it widens slightly upwards). It is divided into three panels through stout segmented flanges running from top to bottom (alternately T and 1 scores, in the ordinary way), and only interrupted at the juncture of body and foot. Each panel is divided into a neck belt with confronted gaping dragons and a »Free animal's head» (ram) in the middle, a principal belt showing bodied T'ao-t'ie with a flange forming the nose, and a foot belt with gaping dragons separated by a plain flange. The relief is high and forceful, the minute spiral background pattern precise and perfect. On the T'ao-t'ie the surfaces are embellished with large incised C spirals. In the middle of the bottom on the inside there is an inscription in incised lines (Pl. 37 e): to the right a (»ya-hing« =) ts'ung 'ancestral temple object', enclosing an unknown character; to the left of this two characters common in early bronze inscriptions, formerly deciphered as ts'i sun 'sons and grandsons', which is very unlikely, read by Lo Chen-yü as ts i m i n 'son—frog', which makes little sense, and by Kuo Mo-jo t'ien yü a n, as a clan name (ingenious but very speculative); to the left of this again some indiscernible characters.

Yin or Early Chou, A style. Height: 16 cm.; Weight: 3.4 kg.; patina: leaden grey, smooth and lustrous, a few dots of red incrustation.

Previously published: Gyllensvärd, No. 1.

### 4. Ku, Pls. 7,8.

This type of Ku is quite common, with beautiful specimens showing minor variations in décor in various collections. There is, for instance, an exact counterpart in Yechung II, shang 22, coming from An-yang. Another important parallel is a Ku in K'ao ku hüe pao 9, 1955, excavated by the Academia Sinica in Ta sī-k'ung ts'un at An-yang: but for a slight difference in the small dragons on the foot part, it is exactly like our specimen here. These testimonies go to confirm the correctness of a report that our Ku comes from An-yang and we may venture to date it as Yin.

On the middle section and on the foot four segmented flanges (with no T scores, only 1 scores) demarcate four panels, of which two and two combine in the décor. On the broadest part, sc. the foot, there is a T'ao-t'ie with the parts of the face

rather badly detached from one another, but still perfectly recognizable as a true T'ao-t'ie face, with one of the flanges taking the place of the nose: an S-shaped horn, a small eyebrow, a clumsy ear, a C-hooked mouth-line, and, of the body, only a remnant in the shape of a tiny leg. Above this there is a narrow band containing trunked dragons. On the middle section a similar T'ao-t'ie, but here the strongly reduced body is raised at the side in the form of a »C-hooked quill», this latter in itself a »short-form» for »dragon».<sup>1)</sup>

In the neck section there is, at the bottom, a narrow band with snakes, and above this a »Rising blade» containing two drawn-out »C-hooked quills» (i. e. dragon symbols) the tail ends of which run together at the very top. All over the Ku the surfaces of the décor figures are covered with the same minute pattern of (mostly squared) spirals as the background, which has the effect of more or less disguising them. The workmanship of this vessel is of the highest class.

Under the foot there is an inscription (Pl. 38 a) shī 'Scribe'. Yin, A style. Height: 30.5 cm. Weight: 1.3 kg.

Patina: grey-green, marble-like, with red dots on the foot.

Previously published: Dubosc, No. 5.

##### 5. Tsüe; Pls. 9, 10 a, b.

This is an unusually large, forceful and perfect specimen of the A style Tsüe. There are three segmented flanges (densely scored) on the body, one of them opposite the handle; and there is one flange under the long spout. The uprights have »Whorl-circles» in incised lines on the top surface. The animal's head on the handle has the diamond on the forehead which is a regular attribute of the T'ao-t'ie. The décor on the body shows, against the usual background of minute spirals, an S-horned T'ao-t'ie of ordinary shape, flanked by vertical dragons. The latter, common on Li-ting and various other types of vessel, are very rare on the Tsüe; yet we find them for instance on two Tsüe in the MFEA (BMFEA 20, 1948, Pl. 5, and 24, 1951, Pl. 2) and, less elaborate, on a Tsüe in the Freer Gallery (Seikwa I: 58), also on another vessel in Asiatische Kunst (Ausstellung Köln 1926, Pl. 25) which has a Yin inscription, and on a Tsüe in the Metropolitan Museum (Bull. 1950, p. 99). As on the preceding specimen, the surfaces of the relief figures are filled with a minute spiral pattern similar to that of the background. Above the central part there are rising blades, those mounting the spout and the neck being very elongated and showing the same »C-hooked quills» (short for »dragon») as on the preceding Ku. Under the handle is the character t s i 'son'.

Yin or Early Chou, A style. Height (to the top of the uprights): 26 cm. Weight: 1.1 kg. Patina: dark greyish-brown.

<sup>1)</sup> B. Karlgren, Notes on the Grammar of Early Bronze Décor, BMFEA 23, 1951, p. 9 and particularly pp. 32, 34 and Figs. 380—383.

## 6. Chī, Pls. 10 c, 11.

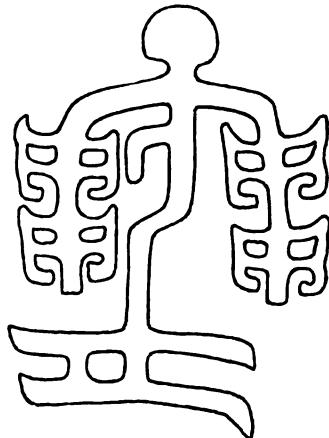
This vessel is of a type known from several beautiful specimens. The present one was previously published in *Shuang kien k'i*, 35. A quite identical one, but with a lid, is in *Hakkaku*, 19, another in *Freer Cat.*, Pl 15 (with a Yin inscription), another in *Metrop. Mus. Bull.* 1950, p. 104. They are all practically identical in every detail. The shape is very refined, a beautiful S profile. The décor is on a bare background, and the surfaces of the relief figures are likewise bare. The neck belt has no flanges, the lower three belts have only two flanges, placed in the middle of the broad sides; these flanges are thin, low and unsegmented. The décor on the belly is a bodied T'ao-t'ie (the body reduced to one long upward-running loop) flanked by vertical dragons of the »winged dragon« type. These same winged dragons recur in the belt above the large belly belt; they are confronted and separated by (a T'ao-t'ie reduced to:) a forehead shield. This same kind of forehead shield recurs in both the neck belt and the foot belt, in the latter flanked by trunked dragons, in the former functioning as the centre of a real T'ao-t'ie face. This bodied T'ao-t'ie (S-horned, in contrast to the principal T'ao-t'ie on the belly, which has recumbent C horns), the features of which are drawn wide apart, is flanked by vertical dragons, though not of the »winged« type but of the common jawed dragon type. These various details have been pointed out in order to emphasize how the ancient Chinese artist loved to vary his themes almost *ad infinitum*.

On bottom of the inside there is an inscription showing a man carrying strings of cowries and standing on some indefinable object.

Yin or Early Chou, A style. Height: 14 cm. Weight: 0.6 kg. Patina: light greyish-green and brown, smooth and lustrous, with a few small brightly green incrustations.

## 7. Ting. Pl. 12.

B style Ting of the present type are quite rare, but a few good specimens are known: Mengwei, Sü 2 (with a Yin inscription), Trautmann III, Kwankarō, shang 5. Our present Ting has a finely hemispherical body on sturdy, well-proportioned legs. Only the neck belt is divided into six panels by six fairly thick segmented flanges, the two beaked dragons in one panel confronting the one in the next. The belly décor consists of the theme »Compound lozenges and spikes« (here fairly strongly protruding), which is common on Kuei vessels but rare on Ting. On the legs there are »Hanging blades« (in incised lines) barely visible in a few places, mostly hidden by incrustations. The inscription (Pl. 37 c) high up on the inside of



the wall runs: Tsu Ting »Grandfather Ting». The vessel is reported to have come from An-yang.

Yin, B style. Height (to top of handles): 20 cm. Weight: 2.4 kg. Patina: greyish-green, with black, bright-green and red incrustations. In the incised lines of the décor there is some kind of black filling.

Previously published: Dubosc, No. 35; Gyllensvärd, No. 3.

#### 8. Kuei, Pls. 13, 14.

This large and stately vessel has a perfect counterpart — identical in nearly every detail — in Mengwei, Sü 19, which has a clear Chou inscription. Strongly akin are, further, the Kuei in Senoku I, 36, and that in Dubosc, No. 27. Of great interest with a view to the dating is the famous Kuei lid (Shen tsī T'o Kuei) in Shan t'u 84, found in Lo-yang, with its long and explicit Early Chou inscription: we have there the same lozenges with spikes and the same »Circle band» above.

The décor consists of a belly belt with »Compound lozenges and spikes», the lozenges far larger than on the preceding Ting, bordered above and below by »Circle bands» — all these being B style criteria. In the neck belt there is an »Eyed spiral band» (extreme corruption of certain dragon figures, cf. BMFEA, 9, 1937, p. 20). This is likewise a not uncommon B style feature, to be found, for instance, on a fine Kuei in Palmgren, Pl. 4, and on a Tsun in Seikwa I, 30. The foot belt has the ordinary »Animal triple band» (an entirely dissolved dragon figure, see BMFEA 8, 1935, p. 96). Under each handle there is, in incised lines, a large cicada. The top of the handle has a forceful animal's head with large S-shaped scale-adorned horns, the forehead diamond ordinarily pertaining to the T'ao-t'ie and the drawn-up mouth-line, with fangs showing, of that monster. Below this sculptured head there is, on the flat handle band, a T'ao-t'ie in incised lines, below which a »Hanging blade», likewise incised. The bottom appendage of the handle is shaped like a gaping dragon (eye showing) with the nose turned upwards. On the bottom of the inside there is an inscription (Pl. 37 a) in incised lines: Shu X tso tsu Yi tsun yi »Shu-X has made Grandfather Yi's sacrificial vessel». The ductus of the script is typical Early Chou, just as in the parallel cases mentioned above. Provenience: Lo-yang.

Early Chou, B style. Height: 14 cm. Weight: 3.5 kg. Patina: greyish-green with patches of bright-green and reddish-brown.

Previously published: Cernuschi, Pl. XVIII.

#### 9. Kuei, Pl. 15.

This shallow Kuei may be said to be something between an Earless Kuei and a P'an. Just below the bottom line there are three openings in the foot collar, of unknown use (vent for fumes from charcoal?). The décor, in very low and flat relief bands, free from all inner patterns, against a background of exceedingly thin-

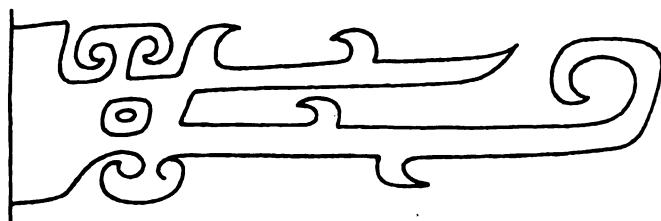


Fig. a

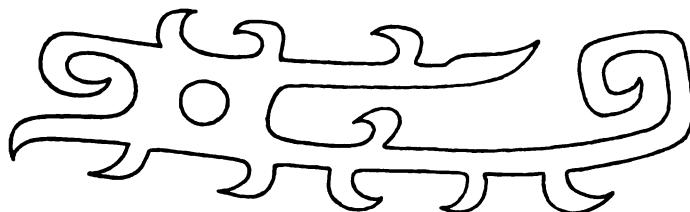


Fig. b

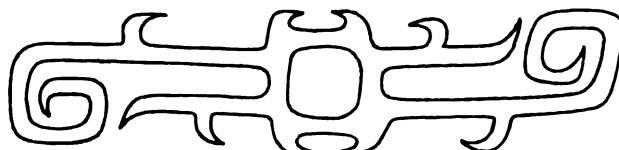


Fig. c

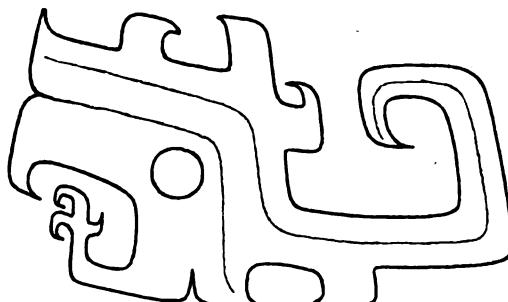


Fig. d

lined squared spirals or rectangles, is limited to a broad neck belt and a foot belt. In the former we find a row of consecutive dragons with large protruding eyes. The dragon nature of these at first sight eccentric figures may easily be demonstrated by aid of our text figures a—c taken from some early bronzes (see BMFEA

23, 1951, Figs. 431, 453, 457). Observe that the figure c (that of our Kuei here) is so composed that if it is inverted an identical dragon shape appears. The foot belt likewise has a row of consecutive dragons. These have a shape that is very rare indeed. We find it (our Fig. d), however, together with another B style element (»Interlocked T's») on a fine P'ou in the Imperial collection (Wuying p. 143, also BMFEA 23, Pl. 11). The crest, bent forward over the head, has the traditional form of a »C-hooked quill» (Short-form for »dragon»); the body with its bottom tufts and the raised tail forms a »C-hooked curve» (see BMFEA 23, 1951, p. 10). The leg, with foot raised and claws visible, fills the space under the hooked beak. On the bottom of the inside there is a short inscription (Pl. 38 b) in incised lines: a drawing of a Kia-like vessel and a kind of cover above; meaning obscure. The Kuei is stated to have come from An-yang.

Yin, B style. Height: 15.5 cm. Weight: 3.5 kg. Patina: grey with bright-green and brownish-red incrustations and some black spots.

#### 10. P'an, Pl. 16.

This Earless P'an is a grand vessel of the highest class. The shallow bowl has an elegant, smoothly curved profile, a fairly high, slightly spreading foot and a horizontally projecting thick rim which is bevelled on top. The décor — just as on the preceding shallow Kuei — consists of a broad neck belt and a likewise broad foot belt. The former is filled with an »Animal triple band», i. e. confronted dissolved T'ao-t'ie dragons, the row of quills on the back still discernible. Where the dragons meet to form a rudimentary T'ao-t'ie face, a low flange represents the nose. The band is bordered, above and below, by »Circle bands». This décor scheme is greatly favoured in the Yin B style; we find an »Animal triple band» framed by »Circle bands» on the neck of a fine Hu in the Minneapolis museum (Pillsbury, p. 57), on a Ting in BMFEA 9, Pl. XXXI, on a Li-ting *ibid.* Pl. XXXVI, on a remarkable Ting with pointed legs in the collection of H. M. the King of Sweden (Palmgren, Pl. 1), on a Yu in Shant'u, p. 112, and so on. The foot belt has the same kind of »Animal triple band», but without the »Circle bands». On the bottom of the inside there is an inscription (Pl. 37 d) in incised lines: T'ai pao X chu »Cast by the Grand Guardian X».

Yin or Early Chou, B style. Height: 12.5 cm. Diameter: 33.6 cm. Weight: 3.9 kg. Patina: pale-green and steely grey, with bright-green and brownish-red incrustations.

Previously published: Leth, No. 5; Dubosc, No 56; Gyllensvärd, No. 15.

#### 11. Ku, a pair, Pls. 17, 18.

This is a wellknown type represented in various collections. A beautiful specimen in the Kunstdindustrimuseum in Copenhagen (BMFEA 6, 1934, Pl. IX) tallies with our Ku here in every detail, and so does another in BMFEA 9, Pl. XXII. The

middle section and the foot section are divided into four panels by segmented flanges (with alternating T and L scores, in the usual way), two and two forming a whole, in that their dragon figures, being confronted, constitute a T'ao-t'ie face, the separating flange indicating the nose. In the foot section the S-horned dragon has a deformed body on which, however, one can still discern the customary lower tufts (forming a »C-hooked quill«) and the raised tail. In the middle section there are two vertical dragons which together form the T'ao-t'ie face. On the neck there is the same kind of »Rising blades« (with remnants of dragon figures) as on the Ku described under No. 4 above. On the inside of the foot there are inscriptions (Pl. 38, c, d): Fu Ping tsun »Father Ping's vessel« on the one Ku, Tsu Kuei x »Grandfather Kuei's x« on the other (the last character undeciphered).

Yin or Early Chou, A style, yet with a strong tendency towards a dissolved B style décor. Height: 26.5 cm. Weight: 0.9 kg. (each). Patina: dull-brown, with large patches of bright-green, the whole surface waxed and polished smooth.

## 12. Tsüe, Pl. 19.

A wellknown type represented by a great many specimens in various collections; there is, for instance, in the MFEA a Tsüe, somewhat more slender but otherwise almost identical with our Tsüe here (BMFEA 20, 1948, Pl. 6). On the upper part of the belly there is a décor belt showing an »Animal triple band«. On the upper part of the handle there is the usual »Free animal's head«. The bobbin-shaped tops of the uprights — of the same type as on the A-style Tsüe No. 5 above — so common on Kia vessels are by no means so frequent on Tsüe as are small hemispherical or conical caps. Under the handle there is an inscription: Fu Sin »Father Sin».

Yin or Early Chou. B style. Height 19 cm. Weight: 0.75 kg. Patina: light greyish-green, very smooth.

## 13. Ho, Pls. 20, 21 a.

The class of vessels called Ho is not a frequently occurring type, and in Middle Chou style it appears to be exceedingly rare (an isolated example in Senoku, 100). The present specimen, the body of which is not quite round but slightly flattened on the side of the spout, has on the belly the grooves characteristic of the period, and, above this, a neck belt with head-turning »De-tailed birds« (Pl. 21 b). These appear in groups of two placed antithetically, separated by a narrow vertical band (suggesting a flange) in the same flat and low relief as the birds. The »De-tailed bird« is a typical feature of the Yin B style; here it has survived into Middle Chou time. It recurs, in almost exactly the same execution as on our Ho here, on a Yu of Early Chou time in Senoku, 66. A similar band of head-turning birds again occurs on a Middle Chou Kuei in Sung, Sü, p. 41. The general disposition of the

décor is very strongly reminiscent of that on a fine Middle Chou Kuei in the Cull collection (Cull, Pl. 15), though there the décor belt above the grooves has head-turning dragons instead of birds. The lid of our Ho, the top knob of which is missing, has a belt with the same head-turning birds (Pl. 21 c) and at the border a free ram's head with a loop in the mouth from which a chain (now missing) once tied it to the loop on the handle. This loop is placed on top of a crudely fashioned animal's head. On the bottom of the inside there is an inscription (Pl. 38 e): *Shi Fu tso pao x» Master Fu has made the precious . . .*. Inside the lid there is the same formula with the characters differently disposed (Pl. 38 f). Reported to have come from Sün-hien.

Middle Chou. Height: 17.5 cm. Weight: 2.8 kg. Patina: greyish-green with large patches of red and bright-green incrustations.

#### 14. Tsun, Pls. 22,23.

This large and striking vessel is a typical Middle Chou specimen, with the somewhat coarse and careless detail work that is so often characteristic of that period. The décor on the inside of the rim and the upper part of the bulb consists of four (rim) and five (bulb) consecutive dragons elegantly shaped and executed in a low and flat relief in parallel bands of the same kind as that on the foot belt. The latter is frankly Middle Chou, but we find close parallels to our dragons here in the foot belt of a Tsun in the Minneapolis museum (Pillsbury, Pl. 43), which is slightly earlier (Early Chou). The foot belt of our Tsun shows the characteristic »Wavy line«, here executed in a way which has many parallels, for instance on the fine Middle Chou Hu in Kidder, Pl. XXIV. Of the greatest interest is the décor on the bulb (lower section). In order to understand that pattern, at first sight a meaningless play of lines and curves, we must in the first place bear in mind the fact that the Middle Chou style loves to fashion figures so that, when inverted, they give the same result. See for instance the deformed dragon figure in Ch'ian, Sü 29 (our Fig. e). This once stated, we compare our Figs. f and g. The former is a regular and unadulterated T'ao-t'ie from an A style Ting of Yin time (BMFEA 9, Pl. II). The latter is the figure on our Tsun bulb. It will be easily recognized that the latter is a stylization of the primary T'ao-t'ie, reproducing its upper half

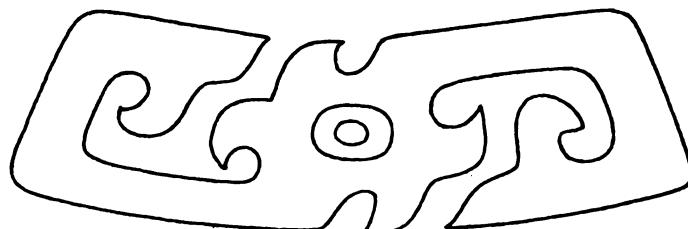


Fig. e

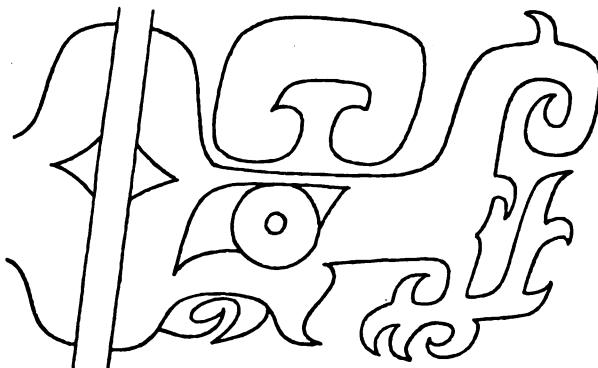


Fig. f

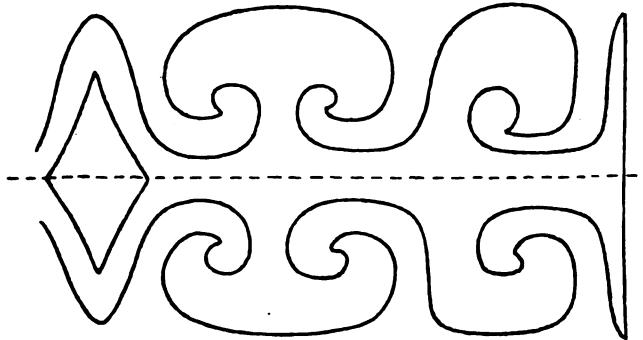


Fig. g

and replacing its lower half by the same figure inverted (turning the vessel upside down, we find precisely the same stylized upper half of the T'ao-t'ie). This treatment of a time-honoured earlier motif is highly typical of Middle Chou and lends a particular interest to this unique vessel. The decoration on the inside of the rim is another rare and interesting feature. On the inside wall of the foot there is an incised spurious inscription (such additions to authentic vessels are far from rare, cf. Trautmann III).

Middle Chou. Height: 21.5 cm. Weight: 2.4 kg. Patina: alternatingly deep-green and brighter green, very smooth and lustrous.

#### 15. Ting, Pl. 24.

A very representative Huai style Ting, of a type known from specimens in various collections, for instance Wuying p. 32 and Paoyün p. 32. As fully described in BMFEA 21, 1949, p. 13, there are two widely divergent types of Ting in the Huai style period. One of them gives a »baroque» impression with its exaggeratedly

broad and heavy body and its short, mostly bulbous, dachshund-like legs, for instance vessel 16 below. This type is known from various parts: from Hun-yüan (Li-yü) in northern Shansi (Senkoku, Pl. 1), from Kin-ts'un in Honan (White, Tombs, Pls. CI, CII), from Huei-hien in northern Honan (BMFEA 20, Pl. 29 and Huei-hien fa kue pao kao, 1956, Pl. 81) from Si ch'uan (K'ao ku hue pao 1956: 4). but it does not seem to have been favoured in the southern parts (Shou-chou, Ch'ang-sha). The other type, our vessel here, has taller, quite straight or nearly straight legs, often bevelled, ending at the top in a small swelling with a T'ao-tie head (of the revived Huai-ish type, with a horizontal roll for mouth-line), and widening at the bottom into a disc-like foot. This type is known all the way from north to south: we find it in Hun-yüan (Li-yü) in northern Shansi (Sen-koku, Pl. V), in Ku-shi-hien in south-eastern Honan (BMFEA 21, Pl. 26), in Sin-yang in southernmost Honan (Wen wu ts'an k'ao tsi liao 1958: 1), in Shou-chou (our Ting here) and in Ch'ang-sha in Hunan (Ch'u wen wu chan lan t'u lu, 1954, p. 10. specimen 13). Particularly the last-mentioned, a pottery Ting, comes exceedingly close in form and proportions to the Wessén vessel.

This specimen has squared handles, with a slightly S-shaped profile, a loop with a ring in the centre of the lid and three animal figures, too corroded to be recognized for what they probably were originally, namely summarily shaped birds. Two raised, rounded, narrow bands delimit a neck belt on the vessel and a rim belt on the lid. These are decorated (the lid so corroded that one can barely make out the pattern) with a pattern in incised lines of »Compound lozenges«, filled with leaf-like flower petals with the stems flanked by scrolls. These petals are strongly akin to those in the décor of certain Huai mirrors (BMFEA 13, 1941, Pl. 40, category E, 3rd century B. C.). A very similar pattern is also to be found on a Hu from Shou-chou (BMFEA 27, 1955, p. 115). Above the raised band on the lid of our Ting there are »Rising blades« filled with the same petal pattern. The Ting is reported to have come from Shou-chou.

Huai style period. Height: 18.5 cm. Weight: 1.9 kg. Patina: grey-green and blue-green.

Previously published: BMFEA 27, 1955, Pl. 46.

#### 16. Ting, Pl. 25.

A miniature vessel, probably meant for a grave-gift. The type is quite similar to that of some Ting excavated in Huei-hien in northern Honan (Huei hien fa kue pao kao, Pl. 81), and some from Kin-ts'un are very cognate (yet having small protruding knobs on the lid rings; White, Tombs, Pls. CI, CII). The information that our specimen here comes from Shou-chou seems to me somewhat doubtful, cf. the remarks under the preceding vessel. The only décor is a figure in incised lines of uncertain analysis on the bulb of the leg, filled with some lacquer-like substance.

Huai style period or Western Han. Height: 9.5 cm. Weight: 0.55 kg. Patina: grey and brown with large patches of bright-blue and pale-green.

Earlier published: Dubosc, No. 67; BMFEA 27, 1955, Pl. 47.

**17. Tripod, Pl. 26.**

This vessel has, above a spherical belly, a tall collar which fits precisely into the high, bell-shaped lid and reaches up to the underside of the top of the latter. On the lid are three figures too badly corroded to be interpreted with any certainty (were they originally birds?); when the lid is inverted and used as a bowl, they serve as feet. The two small loops which are the handles of the vessel form the noses of inverted T'ao-t'ie *mascarons*. The tiny legs have, on the bulb, two smooth depressions which serve to give the bulb the appearance of a strongly simplified face, the ridge between the depressions suggesting a nose. A similar vessel in the MFEA (BMFEA 21, Pl. 33) has the legs formed into small bears, but for the rest the similarity is perfect. The present specimen is reported to have come from Shou-chou. The Kin shi so (Kin so, 1) has recorded a vessel of precisely this type carrying an inscription in Han-time *li-shu* script, but the type certainly already existed in Huai time.

Huai or Han. Height: 15.5 cm. Weight: 0.9 kg. Patina: light yellowish-grey with small blue patches, lid pale-green.

Previously published: BMFEA 27, 1955, Pl. 50.

**18. Bowls, a pair, Pl. 26.**

These shallow bowls which have a small, flat, oval bottom from which the sides rise in a slight curve, are interesting in that they deviate somewhat in shape from the wellknown Han-time lacquer bowls of a similar type. The handles of the latter generally form a simple shallow bow line. This type already existed in Huai style time, as shown by the famous finds at Ch'ang-sha (Wen wu ts'an k'ao ts'i liao 1954: 12). But there were also lacquer bowls with »wing-like« handles (*ibid.*; see also Ch'ang sha ch'u t'u Ch'u ts'i k'i t'u lu, 1955). Our present bowls have »wing-like« handles not quite identical with but strongly reminiscent of those on the Ch'ang-sha bowls. The provenience is Shou-chou.

Huai style period. Length: 11.3 cm. Depth: 3 cm. Weight of each bowl: 60 gr. Patina: on the outside dark yellowish-green, with brighter greyish-yellow patches; on the inside blue of various shades.

Previously published: BMFEA 27, 1955, Pl. 47.

**19. Double-bowl on a tray, Pl. 27.**

This vessel is very remarkable, not to say eccentric, and possibly unique. Above there are two shallow bowls of the same type as the wellknown lacquer bowls

with bow-lined handles (cf. the notes under 18. above). They fit together and thus form a tightly closed vessel. Supported on the heads of two birds this vessel is made to rest 9 cm. above the bottom of a tray, rectangular though with rounded corners, which in its turn rests on three short feet with bulbous upper part, of a type common both in Middle Chou and in Huai (and in Han). Presumably we have here a heating vessel, charcoal being placed on the tray(?). There is no décor. The two large birds have a certain similarity — though not a very close one — to a bronze bird (finial?) in the Minneapolis museum (Pillsbury, Pl. 105), and to a bird with spread wings on a Huai vessel in the MFEA (BMFEA 21, Pl. 32). The birds on the lid, realistically formed, seem to have no exact parallels either. For lack of décor and lack of parallels it is hazardous to date this bronze; our dating below is tentative.

Early Huai style period. Height (including the birds): 18.5 cm. Weight: 1.75 kg. Patina: coarse dark-green.

#### 20. Hu, a pair, Pl. 28.

These Hu have no other décor than the two parallel grooves on the shoulder and the *mascaron* on the handle loop. The latter is a very strongly reduced form of the T'ao-t'ie revived in the Huai period, which is common in this position. We can find more complete Huai instances which may be said to be more or less the prototypes of our mask here. Thus BMFEA 27, Pl. 37: 1 gives the same general disposition and several of the characteristic features of our specimens here. In view of the pseudo-granulation in the centre, the incised parallel lines, the salient points raised into »wart-like« studs, and the scale bands at the sides, we may safely date these *mascarons* and hence the vessels as pre-Han. They are stated to have been excavated at Ch'ang-sha.

Huai style period. Height: 22 cm. Weight: 1.3 kg. each. Patina: slightly greenish smooth yellow, with spots of bright red.

#### 21. Lien, Pls. 29, 30.

So-called Lien (toilet boxes) of a more or less high cylindrical form have earlier been invariably assigned a Han date. Recently, however, Lien vessels have been unearthed in Huai time graves (for instance in Ch'ang-sha: Wen wu ts'an k'ao tsü liao 1954: 12) and it is therefore no longer *eo ipso* clear that a Lien must be dated Han. The present specimen, however, is so very similar in all principal points to a Lien excavated in Lo-lang (Shūkan, Pl. LXV) that a Han date seems most plausible: the shape and proportions are the same, the three rams on the lid and their pose are the same, the *mascaron* has the same »umbrella-like« central figure and general shape, the band in low relief round the middle of the vessel and the raised string in the centre of that band are exactly the same, and the

animals forming the feet of the vessel are kindred. The loop on top of the lid has had a ring, now missing. Reported provenience: Ch'ang-sha.

Han. Height: 19 cm. Weight: 3.4 kg. Patina: dark yellowish-green, very glossy, with patches of blue and light-green incrustations (inside the vessel, reddish).

## 22. Axe, Pl. 31.

This ceremonial axe, of a well-known type, is of a high quality and in a perfect state of preservation. Yin time axes belonging to this group are often strongly asymmetrical, but this specimen shows only a very slight asymmetry: the tang with shaft-hole placed not quite in the middle and the curving-out of the blade being slightly stronger on one side. This type of axe was discussed in detail in BMFEA 17, 1945, with illustrations of three axes closely akin to our present specimen, one of them now in the MFEA (*ibid.* Pl. 6: 35) and one in the collection of H. M. the King of Sweden (*ibid.* Pl. 7: 37). They are all from An-yang. Our axe here has an even more exact counterpart in the Toronto museum (White, Bronze, p. 59, photograph and drawing of the design), every detail being the same. The décor consists of two parts. On the blade, just where the shaft-hole ends, there is a raised narrow line forming a circle, and this is filled with turquoise inlay achieving the traditional figure »Whorl-circle» (for a good illustration of this motif see White, *ibid.* p. 71). On the square tang, outside the shaft-hole, there is, likewise inlaid in turquoise, the figure of a man who is carrying on his head a (ya-hing =) ts'ung 'ancestral-temple object' (see Pillsbury, p. 17). This figure of an adorant is common on ritual bronzes of the Yin era. Here it is flanked by two vertical dragons.

Yin. Length: 19.5 cm. Weight: 0.4 kg. Patina: pale-green and grey, with bright-green incrustations.

Previously published: Dubosc, No. 42; Gyllensvärd, No. 6.

## 23. Mask. Pl. 32.

This mask of very thin bronze (1 mm. in thickness) bears a general similarity to the common T'ao-t'ie face. The parts brought out in rounded relief have corresponding cavities on the reverse. For each eye there is a round hole, probably for a loose ball, now missing. A fairly similar mask in the Chicago museum (Kelley, Pl. XLI) has the same general shape, the same horns, eyes and eyebrows. But our specimen here has a flatter nose, and the diamond-shaped perforation on the forehead of the Chicago mask (this kind of diamond figure being a regular attribute of a T'ao-t'ie) has here been placed below the nose, a highly eccentric variation. The true shape of the lower part of the face cannot be ascertained, since parts have been broken off and lost.

A small square hole in the upper margin is the only vestige of the mask's having

been applied to some object (a ceremonial puppet?). The dating of the few masks known so far has merely been arbitrary guessing. The present mask might be anything from Yin to Middle Chou.

Width: 25.5 cm. Patina: grey with green incrustations.

**24. Dress hooks, a pair. Pls. 33, 34 a.**

These strikingly large and heavy hooks, each of which has two knobs at the back, have the turned-up end formed like an animal's head, and the bevelled surface all covered with a rich décor executed in inlaid sheets of gold and silver and turquoise studs (for eyes). The principal pattern is a pair of intertwined dragons, the heads turned in opposite directions (our Fig. h). What makes these dragons particularly interesting is the fact that they are closely connected with an important motif in the Yin B style, »Square with crescents» (our Fig. i here), which had its origin in a dragon figure (our Figs. j, k) of which only the eye remained, the figure for the rest being so stylized as to be unrecognizable. Now, just as the Huai style revived several others of the Yin and Early Chou motifs which had become obsolete in Middle Chou, for instance the »Interlocked T's», the »Whorl-circle», the »Rising blades» etc. (see B. Karlgren in Maandblad voor beeldenden Kunsten 1939, p. 153), so here the dragons on our dress hooks have heads which are »Squares with crescents» playfully embellished and utterly stylized. This type of dress hook is known from several specimens. T. Nagahiro has published one (Nagahiro, Pl.

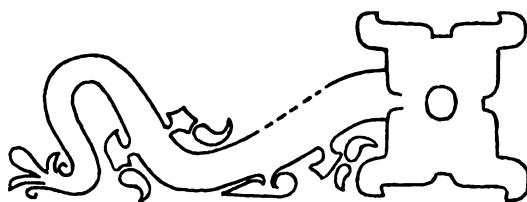


Fig. h

IX), Menzies one (Menzies, Pl. XXXV) and the MFEA owns one more, of exactly the same size and quite alike in all respects, yet too badly incrusted to deserve illustration. It has been the custom to label all dress hooks of the large and rectangular shape, like the present ones, as Han, but recently a hook of this rectangular type has been discovered in a grave from the Huai style period (from Sinyang in southern Honan, Wen wu ts'an k'ao tsi liao 1958: 1), and the décor on our specimen is certainly of a pre-Han type. A similar large though not rectangular dress hook in

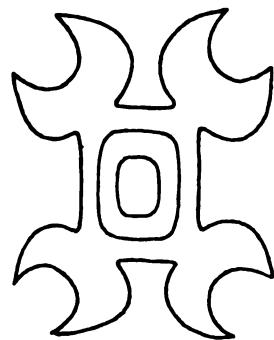


Fig. i

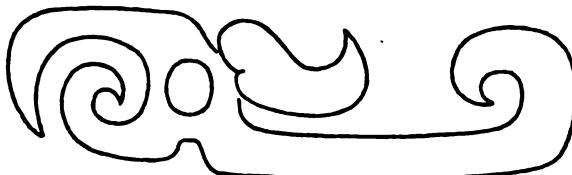


Fig. j



Fig. k

the Stoclet collection (Visser, p. 167) with a very kindred décor is of a type that is now generally recognized as being pre-Han.

Huai style period. Length: 24 cm. Patina: dark brown.

Previously published: Dubosc, No. 114.

## 25. Dress hook, Pl. 34 c.

This long, slender, bow-shaped hook was originally completely gilded, though the gold has now been worn off in some places. The décor pattern is achieved through inlay in thin sheets of turquoise and of turquoise pearls (for eyes and for dots between horns). The theme is a curious repetition of dragons and cicadas. The turned-up end is a horned snake-dragon's head; next to that comes a cicada,

fairly realistic; thereafter a section with a pattern which seems enigmatic but probably again signifies a cicada or cicada larva;<sup>1)</sup> next follows again a realistic cicada; after that a dragon's head with very long backward-turned horns; after that a cicada with outspread wings; thereafter again a realistic cicada, and finally a flattened dragon's head. A very close parallel to the present hook is a dress hook in the erstwhile Eumorfopoulos collection (Eumorfopoulos II, Pl. XLI).

Huai style period. Length 20.5 cm.

**26. Dress hook, Pl. 34 b.**

This hook, which is gilt all over, now with some spots of green incrustations, has a rich and elegantly executed décor. Since a photograph cannot bring out all the details sufficiently, a drawing (our Fig. 1) is added here in which the accessory

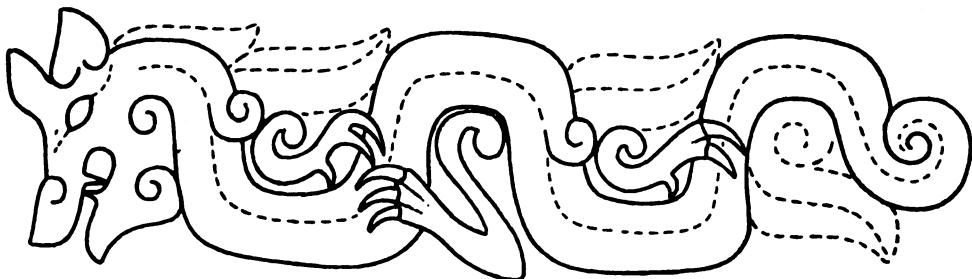


Fig. 1

parts are indicated in dotted lines. The MFEA owns two specimens exactly identical with the present one, and this has facilitated the analysis. The turned-up end has a barely suggested animal's head. The broad sheet starts from the other end with an animal's head in full detail: ears, eye, nose and mouth with large fangs visible. From this head emanates a long body in a wavy line — a deep score marking the central line of the body — which ends in a curled tail. On this body we can make out some legs, a sturdy one bent double under the left side and showing three large claws, two shorter ones on the right side, likewise with three claws each, one at the front shoulder, one in the penultimate loop. The picture is then filled out with various wing-like projections from the body (dotted lines in our figure) and the salient points are emphasized by wart-like bosses. A simpler form of this picture occurs on a hook in J. L. Davidson, *An Exhibition of Chinese Bronzes*, 1939, Pl. XXVI, and a still more simplified version in Palmgren, Pl. 22. A dress hook was found at Kin-ts'un (White, Tombs, Pl. LVII, No. 138) which in style and in technique is closely akin to the present specimen and its group.

Huai style period. Length 17 cm.

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. C. Hentze, *Frühchinesische Bronzen und Kultdarstellungen*, 1937, Figs. 36—38.

## 27. Mirror, Pl. 35.

This large and well preserved mirror belongs to a wellknown type, represented *inter alia* by a specimen in the MFEA (earlier: Hellström collection). The present mirror is not so clear-cut or so exquisite in its décor as that one, and in order to discern the dragon motif, repeated four times round the disc, one has to compare it with the said mirror published in BMFEA 13, 1941, Pl. 46 and particularly the analytical drawing of the principal features of the dragon given there (p. 82). These mirrors belong to a category there called E and dated in the 3rd c. B.C.

Huai style period. Diameter 17.2 cm. Patina: dark-green with patches of reddish-brown and pale-green.

## 28. Tube-shaped container, Pl. 36.

This is one of a set; two more belong to the MFEA and one is in the Sedgwick collection. They are all quite identical. A detailed description and drawings of the scenes in the décor were published in BMFEA 20, 1948, p. 24. We may quote a few lines of the description there, which apply equally well to our present bronze: «The vessel proper is entirely covered with décor: at top and bottom narrow bands with a lozenge pattern incised. The principal surface filled with stylized cliffs and plants, fighting animals and a running human figure (a sien »immortal«?) all in typical Han style in low, sometimes slightly rounded relief. The surfaces of the cliffs and plants are filled with fine parallel slanting lines, those of the man with crossing slanting lines and the bodies of the animals with dots to denote fur. — Above the loop, a mask. Incised on the lid are two boars placed antithetically. — On the borders of the lid are dense, sharp-pointed Rising blades».

The present specimen is in perfect condition.

Han. Height: 10.3 cm. Patina: dark-green with patches in bright-red.

## ABBREVIATIONS:

Cernuschi = Musée Cernuschi, La découverte de l'Asie, Paris 1954.

Ch'ian = Ch'i an ts'ang kin.

Cull = W. P. Yetts, The Cull Chinese Bronzes, London 1939.

Dubosc = J. P. Dubosc, Arte Cinese — Chinese Art, Venezia 1954.

Eumorfopoulos = W. P. Yetts, The George Eumorfopoulos Collection of Chinese and Corean Bronzes . . . , London 1929, 1930.

Freer Cat. = J. E. Lodge, A. G. Wenley, J. A. Pope, A Descriptive and Illustrative Catalogue of Chinese Bronzes in the Freer Gallery of Art, 1946.

Gyllensvärd = B. Gyllensvärd & J. Wirgin, Kiinan Vanhaa Taidetta — Gammal kinesisk konst, Helsingfors 1956.

Hakkaku = Hakkaku Kikkin shu, 1935.

Kelley = C. F. Kelley & Ch'en Meng-chia, Chinese Bronzes from the Buckingham Collection, Chicago 1946.

Kidder = J. E. Kidder, Early Chinese Bronzes in the City Art Museum of St. Louis, 1956.

- Kwankarō = S. Umehara, *Kwankarō kikkin zu*, 1947.
- Leth = A. Leth, *Chinese Art*, Copenhagen 1953.
- Lochow = G. Ecke, *Sammlung Lochow*, Peking 1943.
- Mengwei = Lo Chen-yü, *Mengwei ts'ao t'ang ki kin t'u*.
- Menzies = J. M. Menzies, *An Exhibition of Ancient Chinese Ritual Bronzes loaned by C. T. Loo*, 1940.
- Nagahiro = T. Nagahiro, *Die Agraffe und ihre Stellung in der althinesischen Kunstgeschichte*, 1943.
- Palmgren = N. Palmgren, *Selected Chinese Antiquities from the Collection of Gustaf Adolf, Crown Prince of Sweden*, Stockholm 1948.
- Paoyün = Jung Keng, *Pao yün lou yi k'i t'u lu*.
- Pillsbury = Bernhard Karlgren, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred F. Pillsbury Collection*, Minneapolis 1952.
- Seikwa = S. Umehara, *Shina kodo seikwa*, 1933.
- Senkoku = S. Umehara, *Senkoku shiki dōki no kenkyū*, 1936.
- Senoku = Senoku seishō (Sumitomo Catalogue).
- Shant'u = Shan chai yi k'i t'u lu.
- Shuangkienk'i = Shuang kien yi ku k'i wu t'u lu.
- Shūkan = Shūkan ihō, *Selected Relics of Han and pre-Han Dynasties*, 1932.
- Sung, Sü = Jung Keng, *Sung chai ki kin sü lu*.
- Trautmann = G. Ecke, *Frühe Chinesische Bronzen aus der Sammlung Oskar Trautmann*, Peking 1939.
- Visser = Asiatic Art in Private Collections in Holland and Belgium, 1949.
- Waterbury = Fl. Waterbury, *Early Chinese Symbols and Literature: Vestiges and Speculations*, New York 1943.
- White, Bronze = W. C. White, *Bronze Culture of Ancient China*, 1956.
- White, Tombs = W. C. White, *Tombs of old Lo-yang*, 1934.
- Wuying — Jung Keng, *Wu ying tien yi k'i t'u lu*.
- Yechung = Ye chung p'ien yü I, II, III.







Pl. 2.













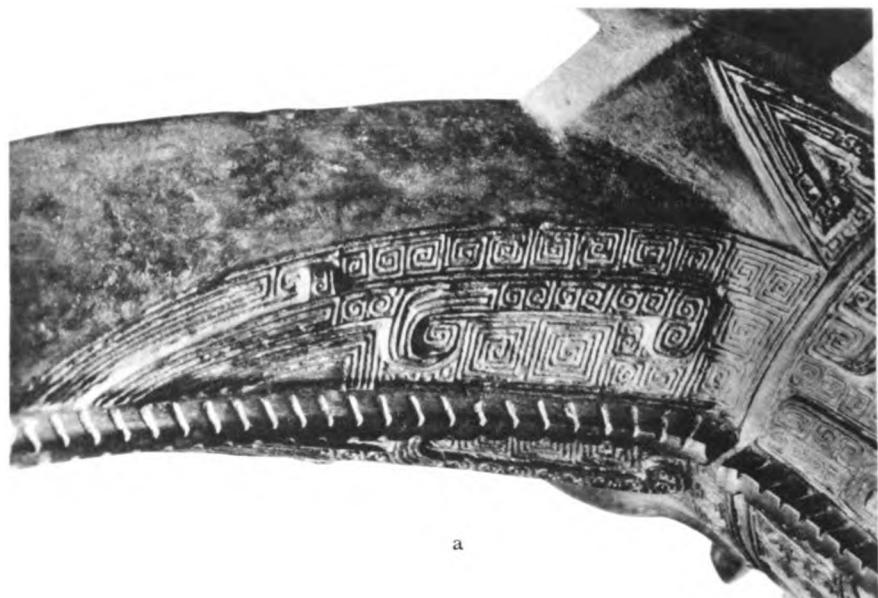




Pl. 8.







a



c



b



Pl. 12.



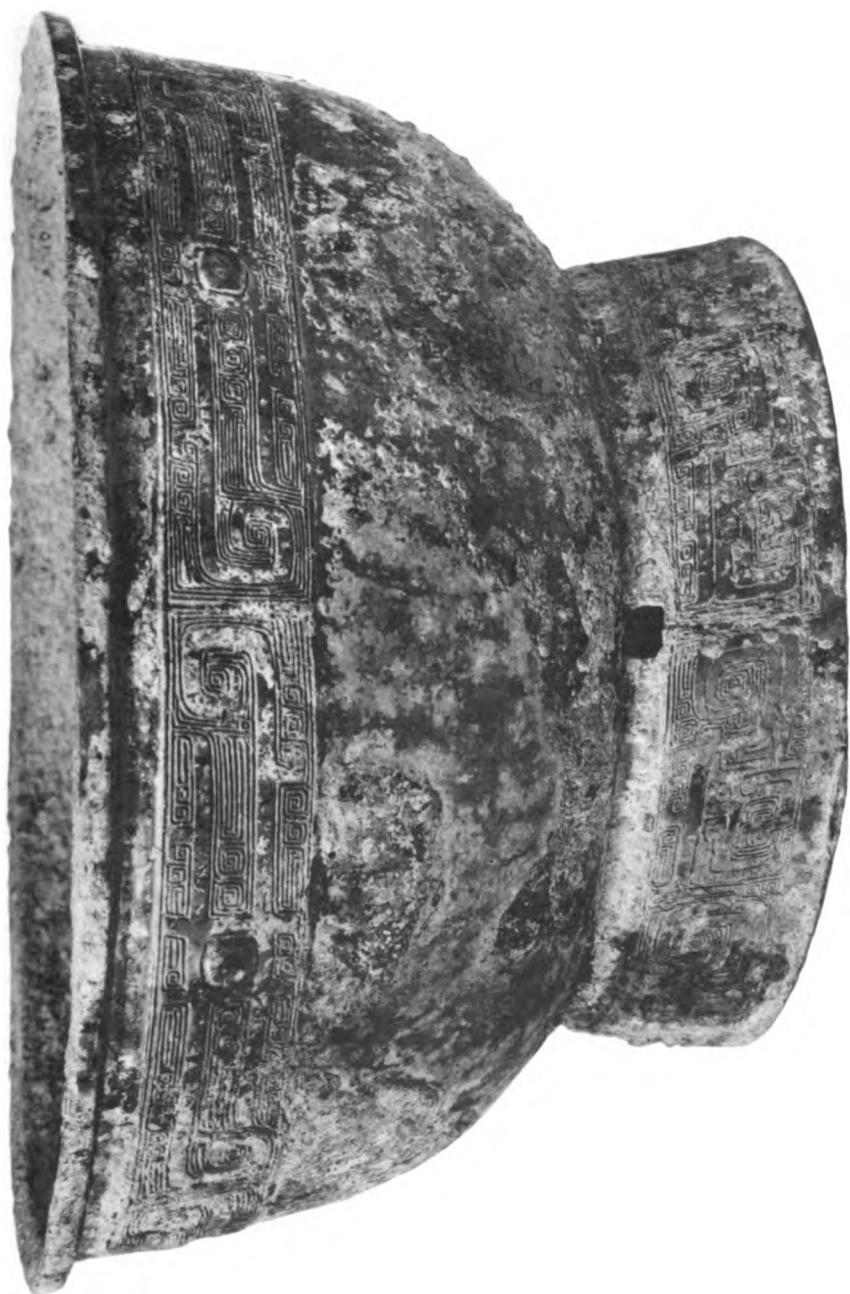


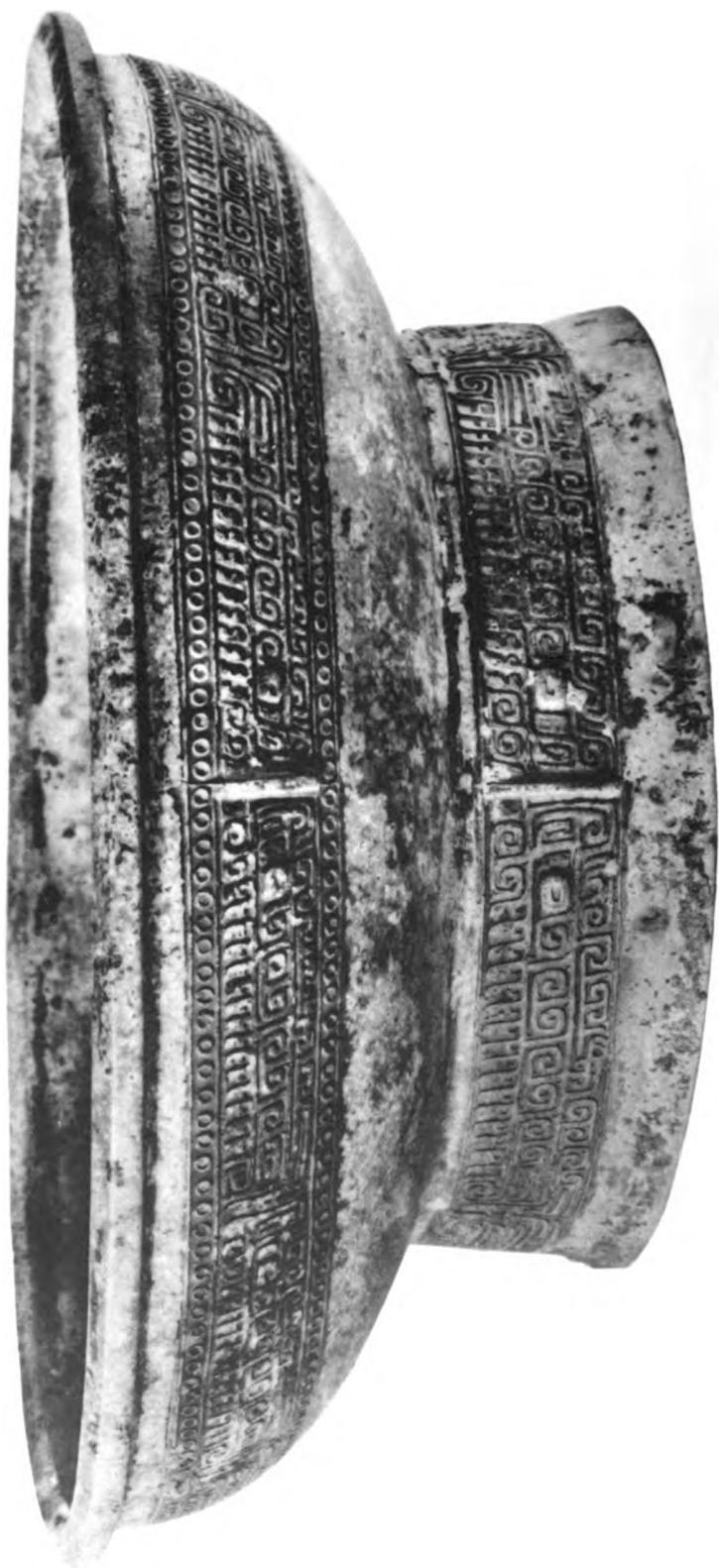


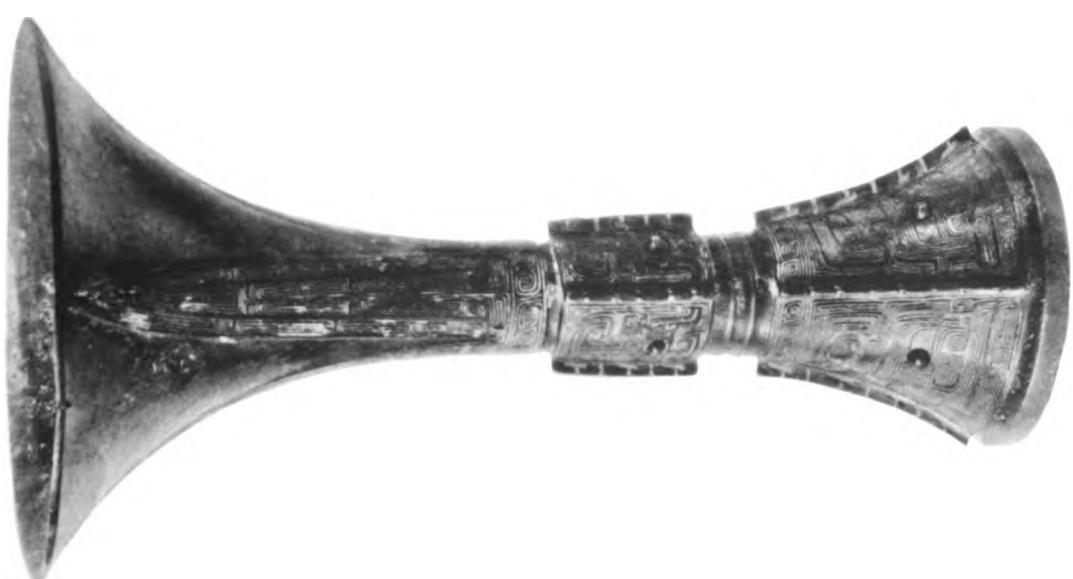
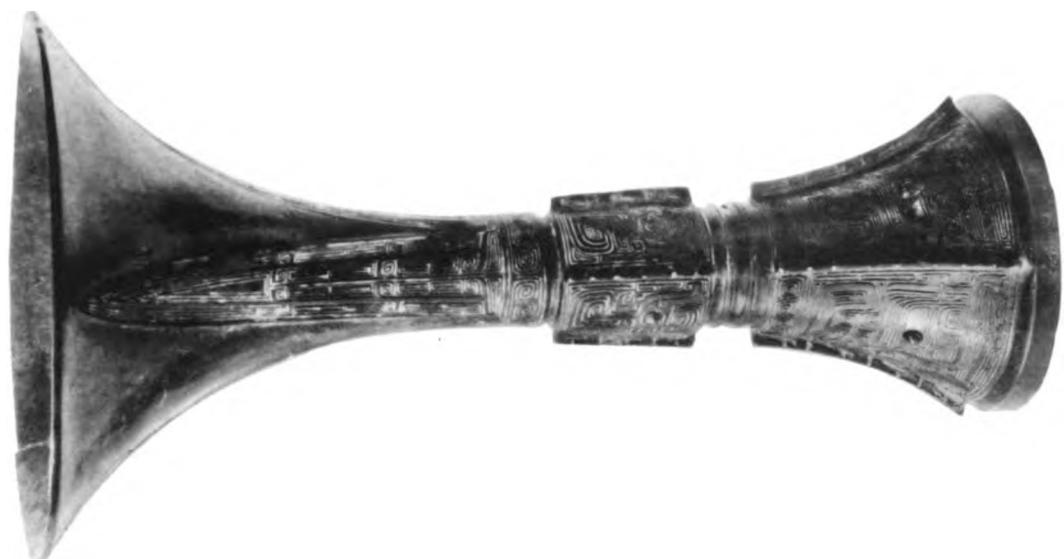
a



b





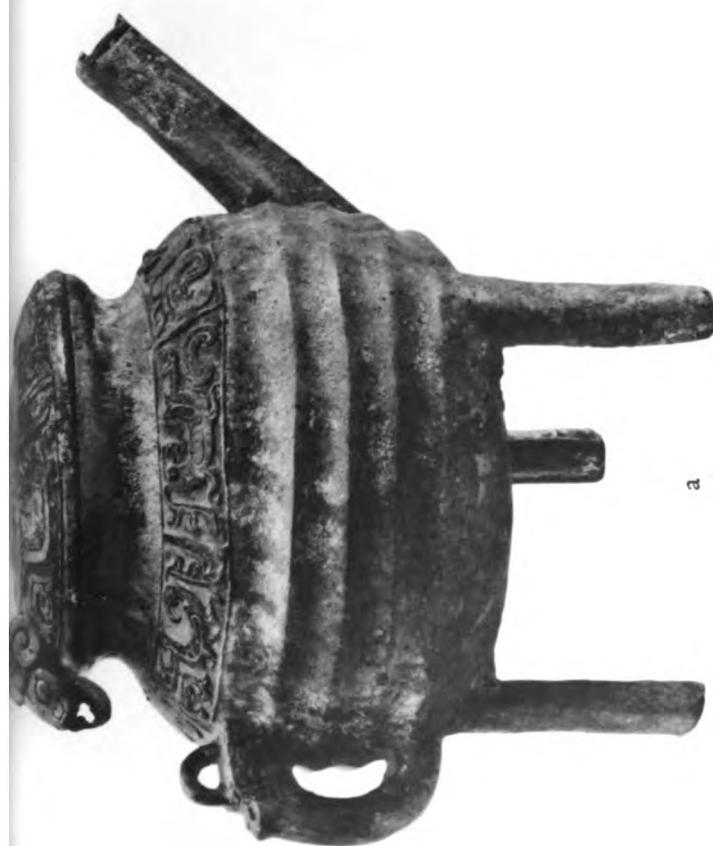






Pl. 20.









a



b

Pl. 24.



b



a

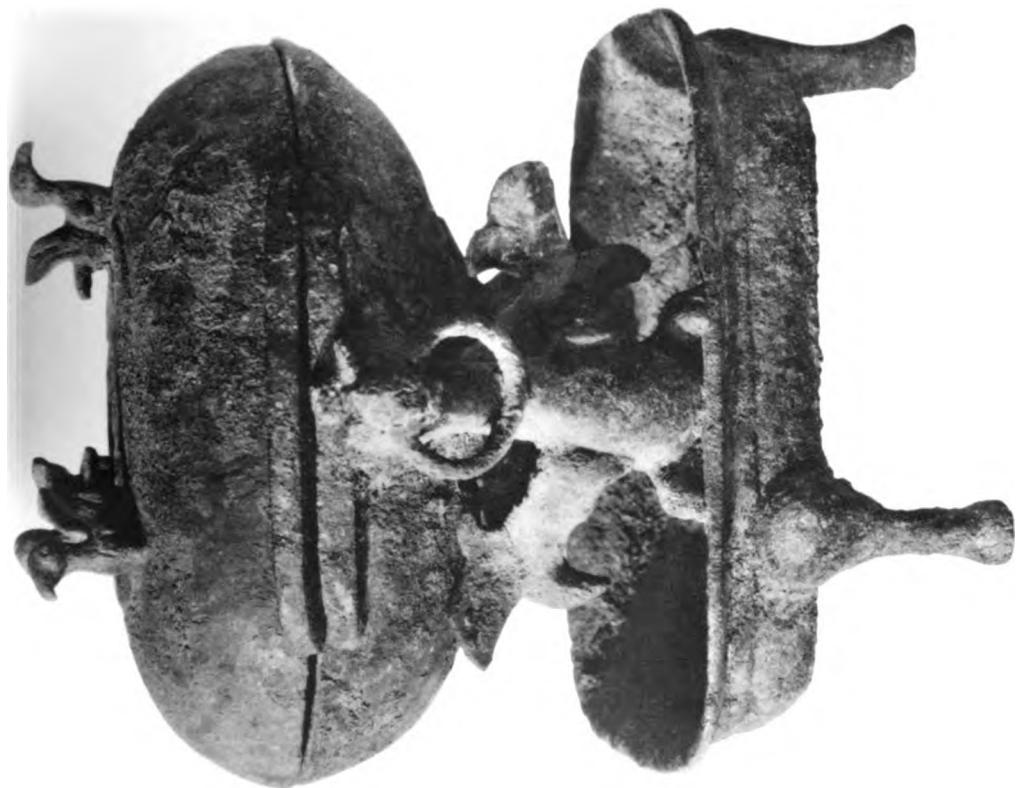


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a





b



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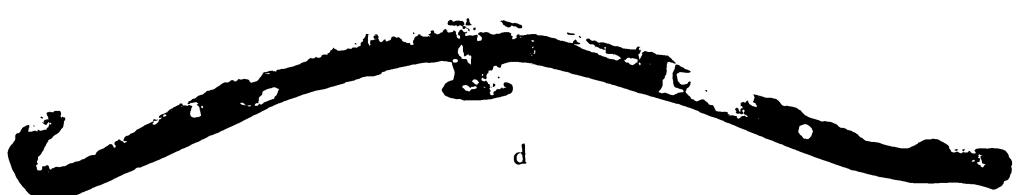


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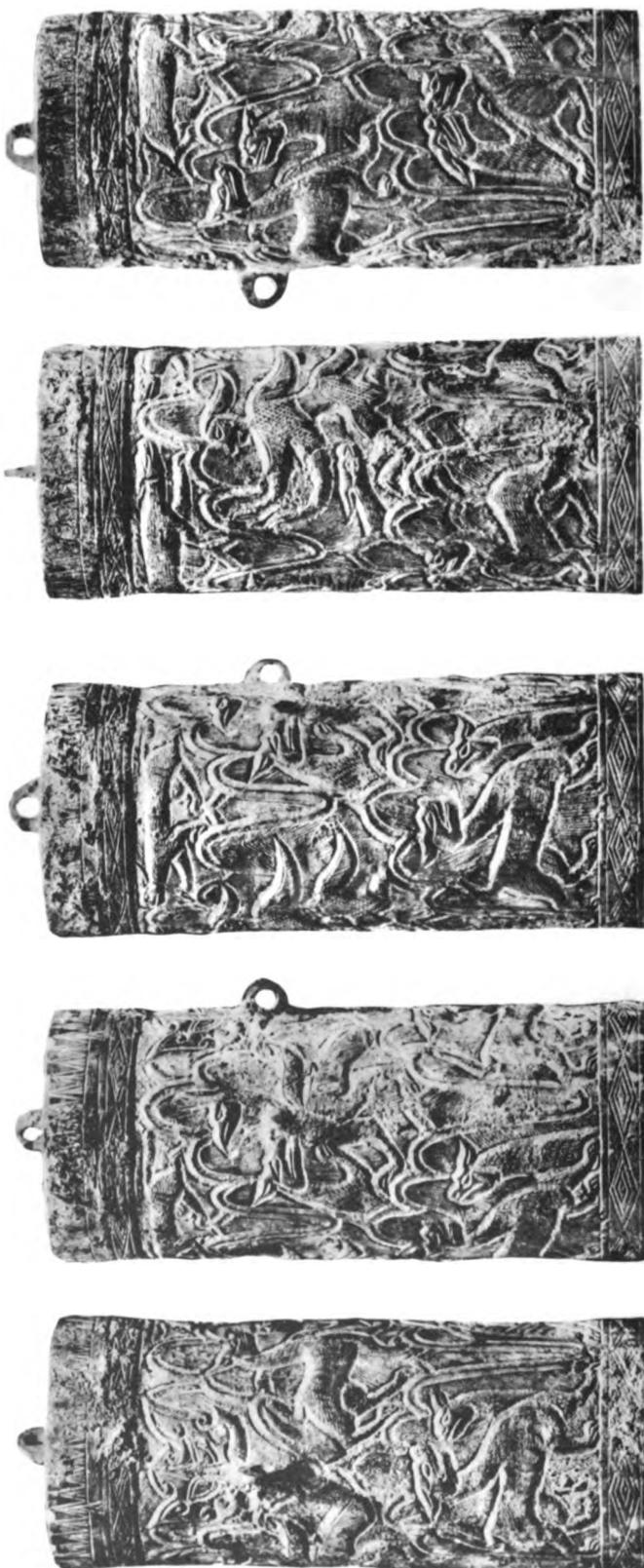














a



b



c



d



e



f



a



b



e



c



d



f







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